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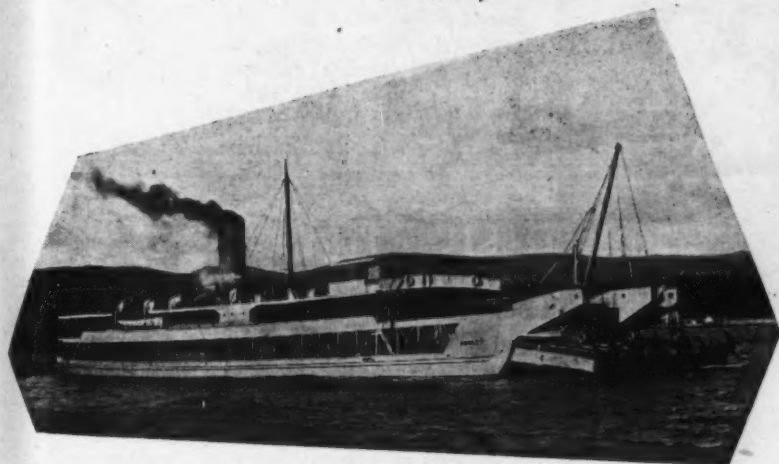
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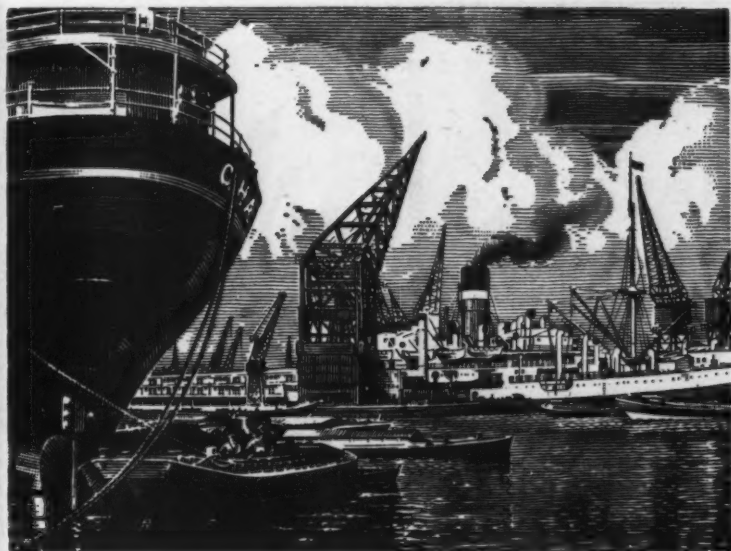
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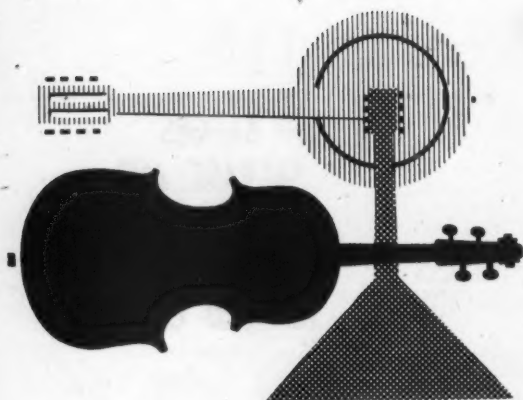
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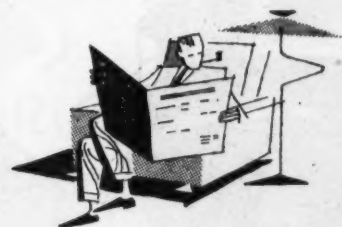
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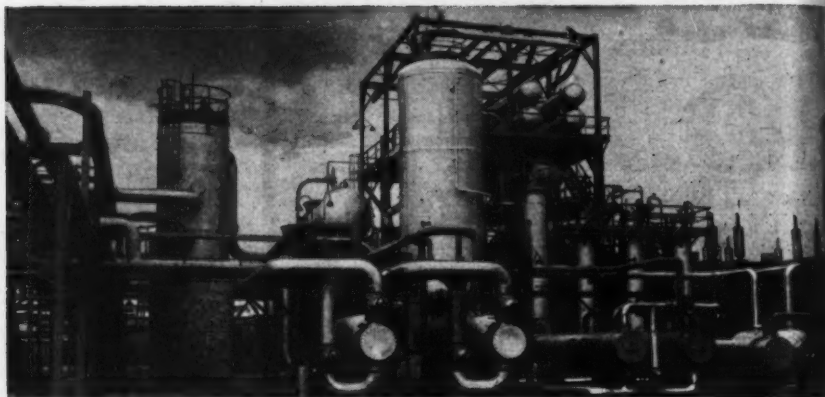


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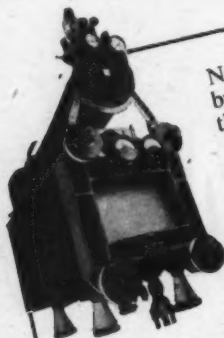
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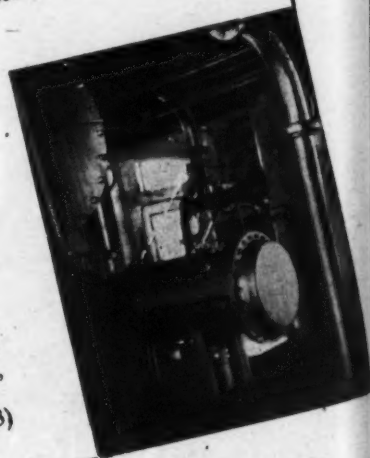
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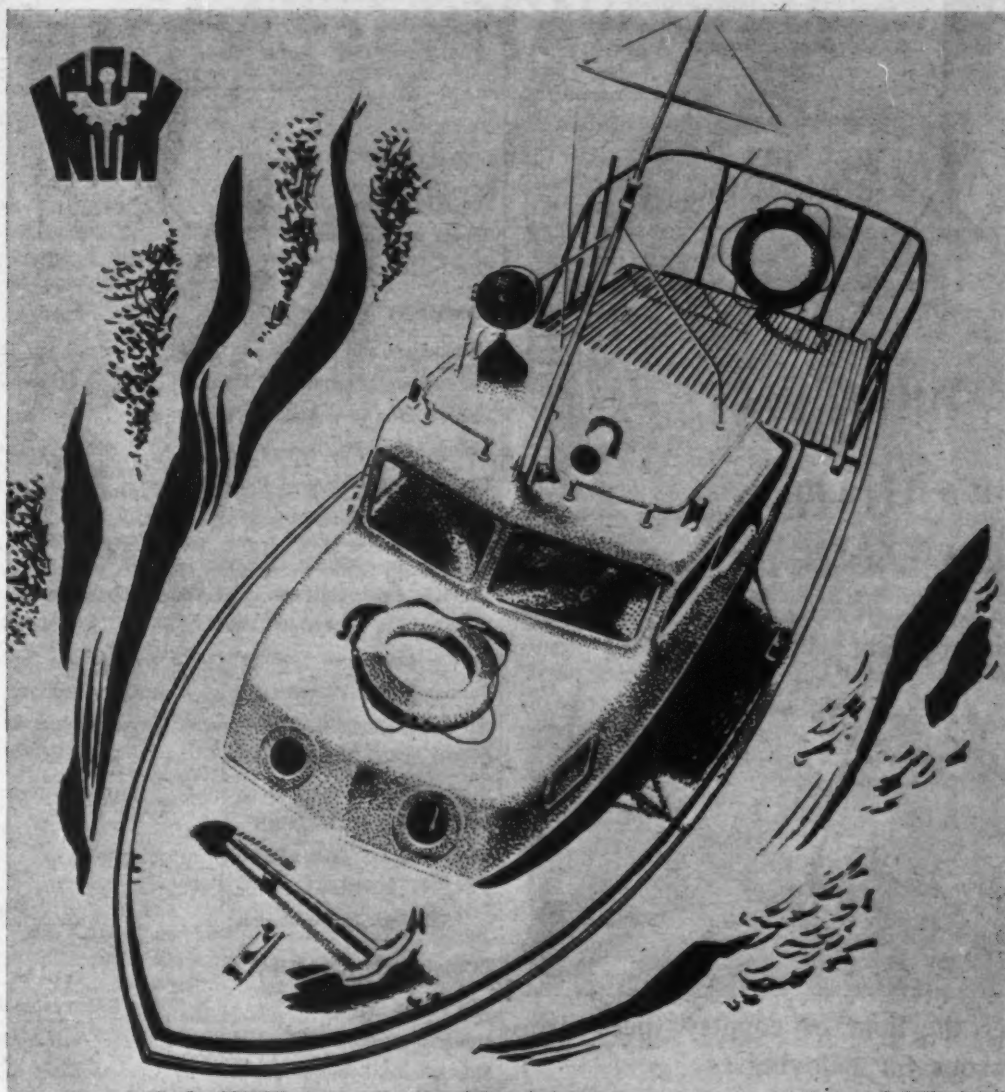
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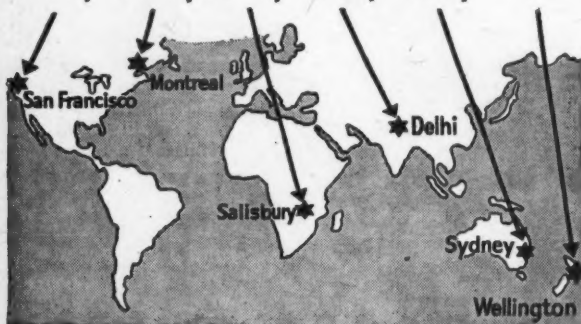


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CONTENTS

EDITORIALS

The Way Ahead for Singapore	9
Report on Kashmir	10
Planning in Asia	11

COMMENT

Nationalism and Planning in Asia	H. C. Taussig	14
The Labour Movement in Japan	Special Correspondent	17
The Creation of a Malayan Literature	Han Suyin	20
Changes in North Borneo	Dorothy Thatcher	22
The Fighting Bishop of Indo-China	Thomas E. Ennis	24

ASIAN SURVEY

Malaya's Place in		
S.E. Asian Defence	Kuala Lumpur Correspondent	27
Japan: Asian Economic Zone?	Stuart Griffin	28
Ceylon: Communal Tension	Gamini Navaratne	29
Burma: Border Problem	Rangoon Correspondent	29
Community Development	Correspondent in Pegu	30
United States: Views of China	David C. Williams	30
Australia: Blossoming Deserts	Canberra Correspondent	31

FROM ALL QUARTERS

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

RECENT BOOKS:

Sidelight on Revolution	Richard Harris	32
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ECONOMICS AND TRADE

The China Market	Economic Editor	43
Doing Business with Ceylon	Austin de Silva	45
Shipbuilding Boom in Japan	Correspondent in Kure	47
American Loans for Burma		48
Italian Trade Mission to China	Alvise Scarfoglio	49
Gothenburg's Trade with Far East		50
Railways in India	Correspondent in Calcutta	51
INDUSTRIAL AND COMMERCIAL NOTES		51

The Editor does not hold himself responsible for opinions
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Front cover picture: Typical river scene in East Pakistan.

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The Way Ahead for Singapore

THE Chief Minister of Singapore, Mr. Lim Yew Hock, can count it a considerable triumph that he was able to get from the Colonial Office in London a new constitution for the Colony that has, all except in one respect, the support of the Legislative Assembly in Singapore. In some respects the clause inserted by the British Government at the last moment to the effect that known subversives should not be eligible for election to the first Legislative Assembly has strengthened the Chief Minister's hand. By coming out in uncompromising opposition to the clause Mr. Lim has rallied to the side of his leadership many of those elements active on the left of politics who were suspicious of his motives after his handling of the trouble in the Chinese schools last October.

This is not to say that there is now no restlessness at all in Singapore, but the reaction of Mr. Lee Kuan Yew, leader of the People's Action Party, to the new constitution has been much the same as the Chief Minister and the Labour Front, and if Mr. Lee feels he can support it, then it is fair indication that the trade unions are not too unhappy.

The former Chief Minister, David Marshall, tried to show during the Assembly debate on the constitution that there was no party or group in the Assembly that was representative of the body of opinion in Singapore that lies between "Communism and pro-colonialism." It is a pity that his outbursts appeared to be a political stunt, because with the failure of his tactics he had no alternative but to act upon his promise to retire from politics. Mr. Marshall is a sincere man and an able politician, but this is not the first time his impetuosity has led him into saying something that he may later regret.

Support for the constitution need imply no more of a pro-colonial approach than condemnation of the subversives clause indicates pro-Communism. There are many who believe that the document signed by the delegation in London could have weighed a little more in favour of Singapore, but on the whole it is a workable agreement, and many points in it show that the Colonial Office conceded to Mr. Lim's

wishes. With all the seats of the Assembly henceforth to be elected the onus of alien rule will all but disappear. This is a great gain. The vexed question of internal security, which proved the stumbling block when Mr. Marshall led his delegation to London last year, has been overcome by a compromise solution in the form of an internal security council, which will be composed of three Singapore members, three British members, and one from the Federation of Malaya.

Perhaps the most significant step forward in the new constitution is on the question of citizenship. There need no longer be suspicion on this issue. Those who have lived continuously for ten years in Singapore may, with little formality, take an oath of allegiance to the new State. This will get to the root of many problems.

What the British Government hopes to achieve by insisting that "persons known to have been engaged in subversive activity should not be eligible for election to the first Legislative Assembly of the new State of Singapore" is not absolutely clear. To hand independence, or self-government, over to a colony involves a certain risk, but in doing so the home government has to take the new leaders on trust. Insistence on this proviso would make it appear that the Colonial Office is cautious of the growing power of the extreme left-wing in Singapore. Mr. Lim Yew Hock and his delegation were right to oppose it. Not to have done so would have shown a lack of confidence in themselves, and would have given the Communists a perfectly good excuse to agitate against the new constitution. Furthermore, for the delegation to have agreed that Singapore should enter upon a new era in acceptance of a principle that is blatantly undemocratic would have set a most unwelcome precedent.

The approval of the constitution by the Legislative Assembly is the beginning, not the end, of Lim Yew Hock's task. He now has the difficult job of preparing the people to accept it in political terms. There is still an active body of feeling in Singapore who will say that for all the talk of a new State, Singapore will still be under the control of a western Government. These are the revolutionaries. They

have so far thought in terms of a withdrawal of western interests and influence without having formulated, even in their own minds, anything workable. Self-government is not enough, and yet it is too much, too concrete. Singapore cannot have independence on its own. Self-government can only be a step in the direction of independence within the whole Malayan picture. Unless the revolutionary elements in Singapore can be convinced into seeing that this is where Singapore's future lies, independence will be a long time coming. Malaya is far from ready to take agitating "Chinese-thinking" elements under its wing at this time.

This is why the dropping of the subversives clause is important. Unless these people are allowed to take part from the beginning in the politics of self-government, this disruptiveness can have a retarding effect out of all proportion.

The new constitution may not be everything that the people of Singapore would wish it to be, but it is as good a compromise as could be hoped for in the circumstances of Singapore's special position and economy. There is nothing in it, except the onerous provision on one-time subversives, that suggests it cannot be made to work effectively.

REPORT ON KASHMIR

AFTER the failure of Mr. Gunnar Jarring to mediate between India and Pakistan on the Kashmir dispute there seems very little that the Security Council can now do. Mr. Jarring, to judge from his report, explored every piece of common ground between the disputing parties, but without success.

Matters are back where they were, with one difference. Throughout the dispute India's attitude has too often been condemned as unreasonable and her arguments called invalid. Mr. Jarring has taken back to the Security Council the view that there is a great deal of reality in the Indian arguments. This recognition has come a little late, but it is nevertheless good to know that matters will from now on be more in perspective.

Many people who have agreed with India's case have in the past expressed the view that India has been intransigent, and have felt it necessary to urge India to make concessions, because of the desperate desire, among her friends, for a final settlement of the Kashmir problem. It was thought that in the last analysis India's claim would be established whatever course the United Nations took in the matter.

Now the picture has changed, for although the Jarring report to the Security Council contains a note of regret that India should have rejected arbitration to decide whether or not Pakistan is in default of earlier United Nations resolutions in keeping troops and tribesmen in Kashmir, the reasons why India stands firmly against such a suggestion are clearly implied. And the reasons are valid.

The Indian Government has every right not to accept any move towards a solution that would assume Pakistan to have legal standing on Kashmir territory. Some observers would complain that although India may be right in this respect, she had no solution to offer to Mr. Jarring. The reply that Delhi might well give to that sort of criticism is that if Pakistani regular and irregular troops were removed from Kashmir, there would be no problem for which it would be necessary to find a solution through the Security Council.

By taking note of the concern expressed in Delhi "in connection with the changing political, economic and

strategic factors surrounding the whole of the Kashmir question, together with the changing pattern of power relations in west and south Asia," Mr. Jarring has given credence to a factor in Indian relations with Pakistan that has not hitherto been taken sufficiently into account in discussion of the Kashmir issue. It is a factor which Britain, America and other western nations will not care to have aired at the forum of the United Nations.

Pakistan's membership of SEATO and the Baghdad Pact, and her acceptance of American military aid, have hardened India's attitude. It is not only that India is apprehensive of a heavily armed, United States-backed, Pakistan. India is not the only country of the region which feels that Pakistan's membership of the two pacts places the potential dangers of Soviet-West antagonisms squarely on the doorstep of South and South-East Asia. The position of non-involvement in which India and other South-East countries have placed themselves is jeopardised by the existence of SEATO, and it is not unnatural for India to consider the strategic importance of Kashmir.

The United Nations, and the world, ought now to come to recognise that Kashmir is not an issue that stands separately from the overall pattern of Indo-Pakistan relations. The improvement of those relations depends as much upon western policies as upon the actions of the two countries themselves. The West is only too happy to have a non-progressive country like Pakistan as an ally in the region. For the time being there is likely to be no internal left-wing agitation in Pakistan to upset western calculations. And yet the more Pakistan is brought into the orbit of western thinking on Asia the more difficult political relations will be between Indian and her neighbour. It is only to be hoped that the situation does not become such as to give cause for alarm in India that that part of Kashmir under Indian control is threatened by Pakistan's strategic commitment to the West.

The question of Kashmir remains now in a state of deadlock, but Mr. Jarring's report may go some way to convince members of the Security Council how outside influences call for the handling of the situation with the utmost delicacy.

PLANNING IN ASIA

PLANNING is fast becoming an essential feature of Asian economy. "Planned economy" was once synonymous with Socialism, and "free enterprise" with its opposite. But since the war, first India and then China took to marshalling their economic activities into five-year plans. In a very short time, twelve other Asian countries followed their example in adopting national plans, generally on a five-year basis. As most of them are anything but socialistically inclined, some even drafting their plans under the direct guidance of American experts, their objective is limited to husbanding their resources for state-directed developments. The lowest common denominator of their efforts is to include economic advance as a part of Asian resurgence. Each country in South-East Asia has similar problems, and yet the move towards economic progress is undertaken without consultation or planning between themselves. There are obvious advantages in a collective approach. An article on page 14 of this issue analyses these advantages.

Last year the United States Congress published a comparative study of the Chinese and Indian plans. Though prepared for the members of Congress and containing much valuable information not otherwise easily come by, its political conclusions were in no way profound. It reiterated the known American view that India's effort should be upheld if only to preserve her democratic institutions. India has received useful loans and aid from America, but nothing that could be called excessive. Most of the Indian successes to date have come out of the country's own resources. The economic record of India together with the just concluded second national election show that planning and democracy are not necessarily contradictory. In China, too, even if it does not come up to western standards of democracy, there has been in the past year a large extension of personal and intellectual freedom, together with undreamt of success in the planned economy—a success surpassing even what the Chinese leaders themselves had thought possible.

The United Nations Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East (ECAFE) reports on the planning activities in the huge Asian area, from Afghanistan in the west to the Philippines in the east, Japan and Korea in the north, to Indonesia in the south. Of the 17 countries included in the survey—Afghanistan, Burma, Cambodia, Ceylon, China (Taiwan and mainland), Hong Kong, India, Indonesia, Japan,

Korea, Laos, Malaya and British Borneo, Nepal, Pakistan, the Philippines, Thailand and Viet Nam—China and India are, of course, of special significance as planned economies.

The ECAFE survey reports an all-round advance for the area in 1956. The 17 countries taken together reached an all-time "high" in agricultural production and manufactured goods, streamlined their transport system, and improved their foreign exchange position. It is not possible to say exactly how much of these results was due to planning, but the coincidence of planning with economic progress, if consistently repeated for a few years more, will inevitably be regarded in Asia as cause and effect.

The feeling of civic responsibility has grown by leaps and bounds in the Indian people, particularly in connection with the Community Development projects, with nearly a third of the half-million villages of India participating actively in local welfare planning.

China has shown even more spectacular results. Ninety percent of the peasantry are now organised into cooperatives and collectives, while in the towns, industry and commerce were transformed into combined state and private-owned enterprises. Changes in social relations are overdue in all the Asian countries, and without them industrialisation is impossible. Chinese and Indian experience is, therefore, being studied attentively everywhere in the area.

External factors are not inconsiderably influencing Asian plans, at least in some countries. In 1955-56, the United States allotted \$250 million for the ECAFE region, amounting to 45 percent of its total global aid and grants for the year. In future an even greater share is to be directed towards Asia. The Soviet Union and China last year also entered the area with economic assistance. Russian loans at the very low interest rate of 2½ percent have made a good impression. Efforts to get aid without political strings attached have not, perhaps, been as successful in all these countries as might have been desired. Most of the governments concerned, however, intend to finance their plans from revenue resources, though they need capital goods and technical assistance from abroad. They want to increase the rate of investment, speed up industrialisation, and modernise themselves as quickly as possible. Clearly planning is the only way to it.

Comment

Mr. Nehru's New Government

IN forming his third Government since India's independence, Mr. Nehru ensures the continuity of Indian policy for another five years. That this would happen was, of course, a foregone conclusion even before the elections, but it is reassuring to know that Nehru will continue to steer not only the India administration, but its diplomacy as well. What a spate of speculation there would have been in the world if the External Affairs portfolio had passed to

someone else!

The Congress Party retains its hold over the country, the new Nehru Government, looking very little different, though perhaps a shade better than the last. There are just enough new faces and rearrangements of portfolios to justify calling it a new team, in which Mr. Krishna Menon's appointment as Defence Minister has been the only surprise. The reduction from 44 to 39 in the number of ministers, though signifying fewer jobs for the Congress boys, seems to have been well received in the country. The average age of

ministers has also been lowered with the advent of comparatively younger men in place of a few Congress veterans. It is perhaps to be regretted that there is now no woman minister of Cabinet rank; the two in deputy ministers' posts are not sufficient to remove the impression of a backward step in this respect.

The President, Rajendra Prasad, and the Prime Minister, in launching the new Government, have both stressed that it will have major problems to deal with in carrying out the Second Five-Year Plan, and will need the help and cooperation of the whole people in its tasks. Many in India believe that to secure the people's cooperation with the administration constitutes in itself the key problem before the country. Mr. Nehru's personal popularity with the masses is not enough. From within the organisation, there are some very rich men who snipe at, obstruct, and undermine the very policies that were, at Nehru's instance, and with the support of the middle class members, formally adopted by the Congress. Admirable as are the economic programme and social objectives of the Second Five-Year Plan, there is no wholly convincing sign that the curtains of class and red-tape between rulers and ruled are yet being withdrawn.

The Communist Government in Kerala may in this task of securing mass cooperation set an example to the country, playing as it were a solo part in key with Mr. Nehru's orchestra. There are men in the Congress prepared to go far to discredit the Kerala Government, but they will find its boundaries of jurisdiction vigilantly defended by the hawk-eyed Nehru. Krishna Menon, too, himself a son of Kerala, though far removed from Communism, will do everything to strengthen Nehru's hand in this matter. Under the Indian Constitution, the State Governments have no great scope for startling experiments, but the Communists can provide good government and encourage cooperation between State and people—and this they have pledged themselves to do.

Those both in India and abroad who asked for Menon's removal from international gatherings as India's spokesman may now find they have got more than they bargained for. In Delhi he will bring to bear an even greater influence on all home and foreign affairs. No one believes that this man, whose restless energy spills over into every field, can be kept within the confines of his Defence Ministry, however large and important it may be. Those western diplomats, especially Americans, who regard Menon's formidable personality as a bar to better relations with India, will now need to re-adjust their ideas in order to establish harmony with Menon himself. But whether they succeed in this or not, Menon in Delhi is a power to be reckoned with in Nehru's home and foreign policies.

Bevan in India

IN winning back India's attachment to the Commonwealth, Aneurin Bevan, some say, has worked a near miracle for which alone his name will be for ever enshrined in British history. However exaggerated this view may be, it is excused in the event by the great relief felt both in India and in Britain.

For the nine months since the nationalisation of the Suez Canal last July, Indo-British relations have been steadily worsening to such a point that except for Nehru and Menon, there was no Indian political leader left to defend India's membership of the Commonwealth. Even Mr. Nehru himself

felt constrained to say that public sentiment could not be ignored indefinitely, and at some time Commonwealth relations might have to be reviewed. The expectation that the new Cabinet would look into the question was frequently voiced.

The invitation extended, at this juncture, to Bevan to visit India as Mr. Nehru's guest was a stroke of statesmanship. By this alone half the battle was won. Bevan completed the job in bluntly telling the members of the Indian Parliament in New Delhi that severance of the Commonwealth link would be not only "foolish but a profound blunder" for both India and Pakistan. Pressing home the argument, he declared that the world situation needed the Gandhian and Nehru way, and that Britain under a Labour Government will want India by her side.

It was something more than Bevan's superb mastery of language, more even than the meaning of what he said that mattered most in India. It was the character of his approach, the fact that he made himself felt as so good a friend that he could with impunity advise, and even rebuke the Indians for their mistakes. It is understood that in Commonwealth relations, the sovereign States must not interfere in each other's affairs, but Commonwealth membership also provides for almost unlimited participation so long as the person participating is not a member of any government. The Labour Party's "shadow" foreign secretary has made full and most effective use of his privilege to be an Indian while in India.

"Un-Asian"

ONE does not hold anyone, least of all a politician, to utterances ejected in the heat of debate. But some remarks made in Singapore's Legislative Assembly recently provide food for thought. While discussing the question of the Constitution brought back from London by the Chief Minister and his delegation, the Government were trying to gloss over the lukewarm reception they had been given on their return. In this connection, the Chief Minister, Lim Yew Hock, allowed himself to be carried away, to answer his opposition: "As an Asian, Sir, I know Asians are not boisterous in their welcome and are restrained in their behaviour, and it was not to be expected that there would be much cheering." This was followed by Mr. Lim Choon Mong, leader of the Liberal Socialist Party, who added the apologia: "Asians don't embrace in the streets or kiss one another."

These remarks appear to be innocent enough, merely amusing in their misstatements. The paroxysm of excitement and jubilation at the October celebrations in Peking, the often excessive liveliness of demonstrations in Karachi or Calcutta, the riots in Hong Kong and even in Singapore itself not so very long ago, easily prove the lack of foundation for such statements. Asian crowds, like crowds in the rest of the world, can become "boisterous" if aroused to cheer or jeer. Every year at least 200 million Asian Muslims embrace and kiss each other publicly as a sign of good will and brotherhood on Id Festival all over Asia. It must be admitted, though, that the distinct booing which greeted some of the members of the Singapore delegation on their return from London was *soigné* and restrained and did not take too much trouble to obliterate and to replace with (restrained) shouts of *merdeka* on the film taken at the airport on that occasion.

Asians, in other words, are human beings like any others. But the more serious point is the new and disquieting emergence of using "Asian" in this connection, by trying to lend authority to any statement, however ludicrous. The inherent danger of this practice, if it were allowed to spread, is that politicians will eventually try to get away with any sort of preposterousness by throwing the mantle of "Asia" around it and, should they be attacked, pretend that "Asia" has been attacked or insulted. The use of Asian identity in this irrelevant and false connection smacks of a new by-product of a nationalism which is quite alien to the all-Asian concept of thought the world has come to esteem. Asian nationalism, based on the will to be free, to obtain and practice justice and tolerance, to raise the people's living standards in every respect and to work for peace. But it does not mean that Asians are better than other human beings, nor that they can get away with any foolishness with impunity merely by adding the magic word "Asian." If this is allowed to pass without comment, if this mentality spreads and is adopted by spokesmen for bigger countries than Singapore, then we have to deal with the disruptive rather than beneficial side of Asian nationalism. And after "un-English," still sometimes used by old-fashioned magistrates in England to express their disapproval of questionable social behaviour; after "un-American" which has become the symbol of narrow-minded intellectual persecution in the US, we now have "un-Asian." At the moment it has only been introduced as a mild political expediency. But like all these negative expressions of something quite different, it may one day become a slogan of chauvinism, of selectiveness and snobbery, of colour bar in reverse and of an excuse for shallow politicians to jump on the band wagon to suit their own purpose.

Our sour reaction to the two remarks made in Singapore are, of course, not directed against those who made them during an argument. But it is the penalty public men have to pay for being in the limelight that their statements become public property, and thus have to be treated according to their wider significance and possible repercussions.

Indonesia's Spirit of 1945

THERE was a certain amount of alarm in business circles in this country on the announcement from Jakarta that import licences were to be suspended. Exporters interested in the Indonesian market were inclined to take the attitude that it was becoming risky to place reliance on trade with Indonesia in the future. The same caution has been heard as was expressed last year when Indonesia abrogated her debts to Holland.

On the political level the move is more understandable. The new Cabinet under the leadership of Dr. Djuanda has set out to put the country on a more stable basis. Drastic measures will have to be undertaken if achievements are to be recorded. The corruption that has been rife in political circles in Jakarta in recent times is the main target of the new Cabinet, and this they seem well suited to do. Most of the members of the Cabinet are non-party men, and many are respected as honest and go-ahead. They are charged with the task of clearing up the lamentable situation that has taken root in Indonesia in preparation for a new, and elected, Cabinet.

Many of the older guard of politicians in the past

have regarded the summit of their achievements as a time to relax and "feather their own nest." The new Cabinet is more representative of the young guard in politics, known as "the young of 45." They are trying to re-inculcate the spirit of revolutionary dynamism that was current in 1945. The Army in Indonesia has always felt that the politicians had lost their earlier resurgent desire to make Indonesia a successful independent country; the friction between politicians and military commanders has been because the army had not lost its revolutionary fervour.

Many people outside Indonesia have criticised the course the President has taken in undertaking "guided democracy," but if genuine democracy was to be a reality in Indonesia, something drastic had to be done to dissipate nepotism. If the new Cabinet can rally incorruptible elements to its side, then Indonesia will not only be saved from disintegration and, possibly, strife, but may emerge in a comparatively short time as a stable economic unit. The resources are available, it needs only the desire and the will on the part of leaders to carry the job forward selflessly. The impetus which the new Government should set in motion may bring Mohamed Hatta back into the political arena. Much in Indonesia can depend on whether he and President Sukarno can work amicably together again.

Communist Split in Burma

THERE is probably truth in the reports that the Communists, for nine years in armed rebellion, are now sharply divided among themselves on the question of a surrender to U Nu's Government. The Communist leader Thakin Than Tun is highly respected in Burma, and as a popular leader, second only to the Prime Minister, U Nu. Between them these two could give Burma the unity and stability the country needs. If Than Tun should ultimately decide to lead his followers to the unconditional surrender demanded by U Nu, he is likely not only to secure for them the leniency promised by the Government, but also to contribute to a consolidation of Burmese national life, and hence to Burma's standing in the world.

It is worth noting, however, that in Burma, as in Malaya, the men in power themselves have much to answer for. Though India and Indonesia also had to face Communist uprisings in the late forties, they succeeded in getting them to disarm very largely through persuasion, after which they were allowed to work their parliamentary passage. The Burmese Government demands from the Communists unconditional surrender as the only alternative to complete annihilation, without having the strength or the statesmanship to secure either. In Rangoon it is whispered that the Socialist Government fears Than Tun's popularity and would rather keep things as they are, while the Communists, for their part, tend to be suspicious, doubting whether the Government, once they have laid down their arms, will in fact redeem its promise of leniency.

After the breakdown of negotiations in March 1956, the authorities made no further effort to contact the Communists, but so much has happened in the intervening period that a reassessment of Communist-Socialist relations in Burma seems once again to be in the air. While no one from the outside can properly assess how far the Rangoon Government would be willing to go, the general belief there is that if the Communists came forward boldly, U Nu would be prepared to be generous.

NATIONALISM AND PLANNING IN ASIA

By H. C. Taussig

WHAT now needs planning most is planning itself. The economic canvas of Asia today is covered with a labyrinth of five-year plans, reconstruction programmes, development schemes, economic projects, production targets, loan agreements and a profusion of general statistical wizardry often mixed with pious hopes. Yet, on the whole comparatively little has been achieved so far to appreciably raise the living standards of the peoples in Asia, though many of the development schemes in themselves are of an imposing nature. It is usually not the grandeur of the scheme which is at fault, but the difficulty of its realisation. The only exceptions are China and, to a lesser degree, India. In China reconstruction has shown magnificent results and has already led to an immediate raising of living standards which are on a steady climb. The Indian progress has been less spectacular, but then her internal social structure, based on a different political system, cannot be mobilised to the same extent as it is possible in China, and she cannot depend on the same large-scale assistance from the West as the Chinese are able to draw from the Soviet Union.

There is no doubt that these two successes in planning, especially the Chinese one, have acted as stimulus to other Asian countries which, while fully realising that planning is vital, are only now beginning to feel that it may also be possible to implement their draft schemes. If one exempts Japan which, as a highly industrialised power, is concerned with trade planning rather than economic reconstruction, there remains the mosaic of the various South-East Asian dilemmas which is really responsible for the present unsatisfactory overall position. In some ways this situation is filled with inherent contradictions: many of these countries are rich in natural resources and potentialities, yet they remain poor; they manifest the strongest all-Asian sentiments, yet when it comes to economic planning they do it within the narrowest nationalistic limits. And nationalism has, with planning in progress, taken a slightly different role in Asian affairs.

Nationalism is still in many respects the main driving spirit in Asian relations, as it is the factor which brings the various countries nearest to each other. All the many forms of individual, local nationalism, are based on what we may call Asian consciousness. But that is as far as it goes. From that point onwards, the new and mature nationalism moves into the international plane, while its primitive remnants are left to dominate the internal scene, to inspire local self-centred planning, complacency and economic orthodoxy, oblivious to the fact that economic isolation is nowadays just as impossible as local warfare; it must necessarily be influenced by outside interests.

That the new, and by now most important, form of Asian nationalism represents a strong common factor amongst

all Asian nations, has been proved by the fact that the Afro-Asian Conference at Bandung was not only possible, but that, despite the vastly different approaches of the participating countries to many problems, something like a "spirit of Bandung" has become a factor in international politics. It would be definitely wrong to say cynically, as some have done, that it is nothing but an able manoeuvre to create a counterforce to the Latin American voting machine at the United Nations operating in favour of the United States, by the establishment of a strong Afro-Asian *bloc* promoting its own interests.

For what are those interests? Though they have been based on the overriding principles of maintaining and preserving peace and of raising the living standards of the peoples, this does, after all, constitute nothing new. They are the same ideals which have motivated the United Nations, and which have been the real feelings of all decent people all over the world all the time. But the Afro-Asian *bloc*, according to its own initial ideological conception, is a new regional approach to the world's ills, a new idealistic impetus towards common sense. Or so it seems at first glance. But if we look more closely at South-East Asia today, we find that this "spirit of Bandung" is in danger of being contradicted by internal conceptions of policy in individual countries which makes it impossible for them to live up to the ideals so admirably expressed. A national revolution, or even the achievement of independence by evolution, is only the first step towards the natural destiny of not only Asia but all underdeveloped and under-privileged parts of the world. The social and economic questions of abolishing want and of raising living standards to a level comparative to human dignity remain the ultimate aim. These are the logical demands of our time, and any national society which does not recognise this is bound to be a failure or destined to undergo violent demands for such improvements. It is on this very point that the intensity and speed of realisation differs most among the various South-East Asian countries.

The developments of the last few years have shown that to fight for freedom is one thing, and to run a country once independence is won, is quite another. Independence in itself does not automatically and magically bestow administrative competence and improve living conditions. And some of the newly established sovereign regimes suffer from the fact that their former colonial overlords did not provide sufficient educational facilities for the training of their subjects. Furthermore, transfer of power may have been either too quick in some instances or carried out under circumstances which left no time for the training of administrative staff and skilled personnel in adequate numbers. In practically all cases of South-East Asia, there has been no time to gain experience,

and many countries in the area are still in the throes of administrative muddle, a paroxysm of bureaucracy and, even worse, economic stability.

During a recent visit to Asia, I was impressed by the fact that these matters are now being realised in growing measure, and that it is now acknowledged in leading Asian circles that lack of economic stability is a direct threat to independence and sovereignty. Thus the phase of purely emotional nationalism is over, and whoever indulges in it or limits his activities to this point, is already behind the time. The stage of economic planning has started, either in fact like in China and India, or as an acknowledged but, alas, not executed necessity.

But it is exactly at this point, where the multi varied nature of South-East Asia becomes a hindrance rather than an asset towards economic progress. For each of the different states, though faced to a large degree with the same problems, try to solve their economic salvation on a national rather than a regional basis. Thus competitive economic units are being created, designed to improve social conditions in limited areas without full realisation that, within a short time, even watertight home economies must seek international outlets and are bound to clash severely with similar narrow economic policies of their neighbours. Few of the territories can hope to establish industries for home consumption only and will, sooner or later, depend on outside markets against all the bitter realities of international competition, custom barriers, tariffs and different forms of discrimination.

Wherever new industries are being built up, they are protected against outside competition by tariffs and quotas to the detriment of other South-East Asian countries, sometimes even amongst the closest neighbours. There are many instances of this narrow, nationalistically inspired thinking in South-East Asia, and if this trend is not checked in time, it will make the area weaker rather than stronger. While in the past Britain has been accused of a policy of "divide and rule," it seems now that, while she has changed and, in fact, assisted in creating the conditions for independence, that policy is now unwittingly being pursued by the South-East Asian countries themselves. Though it may not be evident as yet, the present trend may well turn South-East Asia into an economically disintegrated, self-protecting and quota-ridden pattern of enclaves. Needless to say, the political consequences which may be the logical outcome of this parochial conception, may eventually be diametrically opposed to the nationalistic motives which inspired it. Each of the individual countries is looking for outside capital, for investments and loans, and each of them will find it more and more difficult to combine the tasks of satisfying the growing demands for higher living standards and economic stability by its own population on the one hand, and to refuse outside help on the other, even if the latter may have politically embarrassing conditions attached to it. Sheer economic pressure, combined with the tactical weakness of having to face potential creditors and to negotiate assistance agreements separately, each country on its own and with its individual and confined plan, will open the doors to dangerous compromises and outside influences. Whether these influences are desirable or not, the

danger exists that South-East Asia may eventually do the "dividing" herself, whereas the "ruling" might easily undergo various influences from the outside.

There are signs that many conditions for such an eventuality already exist. The time seems to have come to make it clear that working solutions will have to be found, as a matter of common sense, which would fortify the freedom and the already achieved improvements in many of the South-East Asian countries. This concerns most of the problems of the region, whether they are connected with economic reconstruction, commercial discrimination, racial disputes, language and educational differences and others, either among the countries or inside their own territories. While it is in no way suggested that countries should interfere with each others' internal affairs, it appears now imperative that they should make a concrete, practical approach to their problems on a collective basis, and without delay.

This collective approach should not be too difficult, at least not in theory. In most countries the first sweet taste of national freedom has been savoured to the full, and nationalism is expressing itself in the broader field of proud membership of the Afro-Asian bloc. As mentioned above, it has also moved towards the realisation of the necessary economic stability. All that is wanted now is to move the economic argument, similarly to what has happened in the political field, on an international level, preferably on a regional basis. This would enable regional planning in a concrete form and would lend collective strength to all bargainings for international capital. It would also be able to mobilise local resources of the whole area to a much larger degree than hitherto possible. Each country in the region could contribute already available assets, ranging from technical skill to natural resources and its industrial and agricultural products, and the whole concept of the region could be strengthened in a very short time. A new South-East Asia economic bloc could be established which would not only free trade inside its limits, but create a very important international trading partner for the rest of the world within extremely short time. Careful regional planning extending over the whole area would be bound to show quick results which, in turn, would provide the essential enthusiasm amongst the people of South-East Asia for the building up of the machinery of their own prosperity.

The big problems which face the countries internally can only be matched by the bigger problem of how to overcome them. And international, collective action is the only hope of this being accomplished. The "Afro-Asian outlook" has, no doubt, made itself felt in South-East Asian thought, particularly since the Bandung Conference. There seems to be a nearly unanimous rejection of military pacts like SEATO, and it is felt that collective peace rather than collective security should be the general principle. The *pancha shila* and the Five Principles of Coexistence seem to be the nearest political conceptions to the feelings of not only the South-East Asians but the peoples of Asia as a whole.

And yet it must be admitted that this feeling is still nebulous, divided and utterly unconcerted as far as the economic organisation of the individual countries on the one

hand, and of their economic cooperation among themselves on the other hand are concerned. Perhaps some of the South-East Asian countries are still too young, independence dating from only too recent years, for them to realise the imperative need for concerted regional economic planning. They may perhaps be too jealous of their newly-won sovereignty, or anxious not to admit all the difficulties they encounter within their own countries.

But surely these anxieties could be allayed. Not an iota of national independence would be lost if all South-East Asian countries were to join in forming a regional plan of development which would enable them to turn backward societies into vigorous, prosperous communities with a higher living standard. The region is rich and important, and could, if it were to approach its problems as a unit, take the developments in China and India as an example as to what can be done by large-scale planning. If conditions do not seem as favourable in South-East Asia for such planning as in the afore-mentioned mammoth areas, one has to bear in mind that multi-national action in this region could establish similar conditions. The phenomenal construction work in China, and the highly successful five-year plans in India could, or should provide sufficient experience and ideas for concrete steps towards such collective planning.

Further, like in China and India, large-scale plans will meet with the enthusiasm and the active support of the people who will feel that they exert themselves for their own good in an enterprise which has far greater chances of lasting success than some of the fiddling little schemes, often planned against other countries or admitted to be short-term, half-hearted attempts at local improvements with often only faintly discernible success. During the past four years the face of China has been changed beyond recognition and living standards are going up there almost weekly, and in India, where economic reconstruction has fired the imagination of the people who flock to offer voluntary labour to hasten up progress, the national income has already gone up from 18 to 25 percent.

I am convinced that not only the peoples inside the South-East Asian countries, but also those in other parts of the world would cooperate if a supra-national regional South-East Asian planning, and an energetic execution of such planning, could be organised. At the present rate, it will take many years to bring about solid economic and, closely linked up with it, political stability in the area. And even if local stability could be achieved, it would be in no real proportion to the immense wealth and possibilities South-East Asia has to offer as a whole. The potentialities of the region, as indeed of the whole Asian scene, are well appreciated by western countries. But, apart from such organisations like the BOAC, which has maintained routes all over Asia and which I consider greatly responsible for opening up modern Asia, sometimes under unfavourable conditions, western concerns want a basis for greater confidence in order to participate and help on a larger scale in Asian construction work. There are many individual firms, of course, who even now fully recog-

(Continued on page 32)

Low Asian Income Level

The following statistics, published by the ILO (International Labour Organisation), illustrate the appallingly low economic level of the Asian countries compared with the rest of the world. They also underline the necessity of intensifying all steps aimed at raising the living standards of the East. The ILO has experts working in more than 40 countries giving help in the fields of training, productivity, handicrafts and cooperatives, social security and labour administration, but large-scale international action is needed to implement the economic and social programmes designed to improve Asian living standards.

PER CAPITA INCOME IN THE WORLD (Annual average 1952-54, US\$)

CANADA SWITZERLAND UNITED STATES		over \$1,000
AUSTRALIA NEW ZEALAND SWEDEN		\$900 - \$1,000
BELGIUM LUXEMBOURG		\$800 - \$899
DENMARK FRANCE ICELAND NORWAY UNITED KINGDOM		\$700 - \$799
FINLAND		\$600 - \$699
GERMAN FED. REP. NETHERLANDS VENEZUELA		\$500 - \$599
ARGENTINA IRELAND ISRAEL		\$400 - \$499
AUSTRIA CHILE CUBA ITALY UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA		\$300 - \$399
BRAZIL COLOMBIA GREECE LEBANON MEXICO PANAMA PORTUGAL TURKEY		\$200 - \$299
✓ CHILAN DOMINICAN REPUBLIC ECUADOR EGYPT GUATEMALA HONDURAS		✓ \$100 - \$199
✓ JAPAN PARAGUAY PERU ✓ PHILIPPINES		✓ \$100 and less
✓ BURMA ✓ INDIA ✓ KOREA ✓ PAKISTAN ✓ THAILAND		

The Labour Movement in Japan

By a Special Correspondent in Japan

WHEN the American Occupation arrived in Japan, in September 1945, it found two government-sponsored so-called trade unions in existence: Sampo, The Patriotic Industrial Association, and Kono-Hokoku-Kai, The Patriotic Labour Association. The former included all skilled labour, the second all unskilled manpower. In October of the same year, five trade unions with 5,300 members came into existence, in December 1945, 508 unions claimed 379,631 members. Ten years later, in 1955, the labour movement in Japan was represented by 32,010 trade unions with an aggregate membership of 6,184,561. Today, Japan's labour movement is the largest in non-Communist Asia and the fourth or fifth in the world, excluding Communist countries. How did this remarkable development take place?

Japan's decision to open her gates to the West, after isolation of more than 200 years, in the middle of the last century, accelerated the economic development. The process known in the West as the "Industrial Revolution" took place in Japan, too, but according to a programme decided upon in advance and at an almost feverish pace. This revolution helped Japan to gain her place among the advanced powers on the international scene. At the same time, it changed the social structure of the country. The gap between the poor and the rich widened. In Japan, too, the clash of interests between the entrepreneurs and the workers forced the latter to take steps to protect themselves. The pioneers of these ideas of self-defence were, as in the West, idealists. Their voices, however, did not prevail against the pressure of the economic development. Its first target was to accumulate capital and that, in the absence of other ways and means, by exploitation of paid labour. The indifference of the workers themselves at that period is also recognised as a contributive factor to the failure of the first attempts to organise labour in Japan. The roots of the movement are found in Japan's traditional past. There, artisans' organisations had a place no less important than that of the mediaeval guilds in Europe. The Japanese organisations, as opposed to their European counterparts, did not participate in the political life of the community. They restricted themselves to regulating production, prices, apprenticeship and similar internal affairs. In 1721, they won official recognition by the Bukafu, the central government of the Tokugawa Shogunate, by a special act, paid taxes, and the names of their members were kept in an official register. But, as already mentioned, these trade associations kept their activities within the narrow limitations imposed by the feudal order of society which surrounded them.

Industrial development in Japan completed its first stage after the Sino-Japanese War in 1897. At the same time, labour began to think about the necessity of organising for economic self-defence. The initiators of that period were assisted by Japanese returning from the United States where

they had completed their studies, and had seen the beginnings of an organised labour movement. The concepts of these early initiators were based partly on Christian socialism and partly on the ideologies of scientific-political socialism.

The western Powers did not permit Japan to enjoy the fruits of her victory over China and forced her to return a sizable portion of the spoils. As a consequence, an economic crisis threatened Japan. The authorities became suspicious of attempts to organise labour. Police regulations for the preservation of the public order was enacted. The beginnings of the labour movement were suppressed and, as a result, its development delayed for a decade. Only in 1912 did the printers—the most active element in organising labour in Japan—succeed in establishing a trade union under the name of "The Friends' Society" (Yuaikai). Its actual founder was Bunji Suzuki, an ardent Socialist.

From its very beginnings the labour movement in Japan lacked unity of organisation and purpose. Already at the end of the last century, the movement was divided along the lines of different ideologies. The Socialists insisted on political action, claiming this to be the only way towards an improvement of the workers' conditions. The Syndicalists, on the other hand, fought for the betterment of the workers' lot by economic action, i.e. strikes, organised labour and collective bargaining, stressing the economic power of the workers' class. The Syndicalists, therefore, did not take part in Suzuki's Yuaikai, but established an independent organisation. At the end of World War I, the two unions amalgamated, but shortly afterwards, in 1921, split again under the influence of the Russian Revolution, when extreme leftist elements tried to emphasise the political character of the union. As a result, a purely political union, Sodomei, was established. In 1923, the leftists of Sodomei set up another, new organisation, Hyogikai, which cooperated with the Secretariat of the Communist led All Pacific Federation of Labour. The opposition of the anti-extremists within Hyogikai and of the more radically inclined members of Sodomei led, in 1925, to the establishment of a third union, Sorengo.

The partisanship and the differences of opinion which accompanied the Japanese labour movement from its inception still characterise it today; they seem to be symptomatic. The number of unions grew and with it, membership, but both remained behind the increase in industrial manpower. Feudal traditions delayed the progress of organised labour. Most Japanese industries were managed according to paternalistic principles and practices. The Japanese law did not recognise the right of the workers to organise. Police regulations for the preservation of public order hampered the attempts by workers to establish trade unions and to protect their rights by strike. The employers, on the other hand, were efficiently and comprehensively organised. They resolutely fought the



new ideas of the workers and suppressed with feudal and police methods all efforts of labour to organise. In addition, the young girls employed by the textile mills, the then most important industry in Japan, were indifferent towards the labour movement. They constituted a large percentage of the total labour employed in that industry, and thus weakened the labour movement. Nevertheless, the growth of the movement was unavoidable. It went parallel with the expansion of the industry in Japan, though not at the same pace, during the twenties and the thirties. In 1929 there were 630 trade unions officially registered in Japan with 330,000 members. Their number reached 420,582 in 1936, representing the peak before the second World War. However, even this sizeable number represented only seven percent of the total industrial manpower.

The imminent clash with the United States, the prolonged war with China and Japan's adherence to the anti-Communist Axis strengthened again the authorities against the unions. During the second World War the Government forced all trade unions to join one of the two already mentioned giant organisations which had been set up on the initiative of the government: Sampo, which included all skilled labour, and Kono-Hokoku-Kai, the all-embracing organisation of unskilled labour. The Government promoted these organisations, financed them, supervised them and operated them as an efficient instrument for the purposes of the general war effort. The leaders of the labour movement who objected to the Government unions were arrested, exiled and otherwise silenced. As a result, there was practically no labour movement in existence when Japan surrendered in August 1945.

Article 10 of the Potsdam Declaration of July 1945 in which the Allied Powers laid down their policy towards Japan declared that Japan will have to remove "all obstacles to the revival and strengthening of democratic tendencies." On the basis of the article the Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers, General Douglas MacArthur, directed the Prime Minister of Japan in October 1945 to encourage and to promote the establishment of trade unions. In December 1946, the Far Eastern Commission rendered a policy decision on the labour movement in the form of "Principles for Trade Unions in Japan." Sixteen principles for the guidance of the Supreme Commander were set forth, the first of which runs:

Japanese workers should be encouraged to form themselves into trade unions for the purpose of improving conditions of work, participating in industrial negotiations to this end, and otherwise assisting the legitimate trade union interests of workers, including organised participation in building a peaceful and democratic Japan.

These decisions resulted in an unforeseen impetus for the labour movement. The number of trade unions and their membership increased enormously:

Year	Number of Unions	Membership
1945 October	5	5,300
1945 December	508	379,631
1946	12,006	3,679,971
1947	23,322	5,642,179
1948	33,926	6,677,427
1949	34,688	6,655,483
1950	29,144	5,773,908
1951	27,644	5,686,774
1952	27,851	5,719,560
1953	30,129	5,482,700
1954	31,456	5,986,200
1955	32,010	6,184,561

During the same decade after Japan's defeat organised labour as a part of the total manpower, too, grew considerably:

Year	Total National Manpower	Trade Union Membership	Organised Labour as percentage of total national manpower
1946	32,210,000	3,679,971	approximately 11%
1955	41,410,000	6,184,561	approximately 15%

In comparison with other non-Communist countries, such as the United Kingdom or the United States, these percentages are modest. However, it should not be overlooked that, first, half of Japan is not industrialised, being a traditional agricultural country; secondly, that home industry takes an important place in the structure of Japan. Family members work at home and, therefore, remain unorganised.

In accordance with a directive from the Supreme Commander, in January 1946, the Diet (Parliament of Japan) passed the Trade Union Law. New Japan's Ministry for Labour was set up in September 1947 and became a great help to the workers. Parallel with the growth of the labour movement, labour legislation, too, was expanded. Articles 21 and 22 of the Constitution ensure the workers' right to organisation, assembly and collective bargaining. From the rather considerable number of trade unions in the above table it becomes obvious that the enterprise union is characteristic of the labour movement in Japan. The number of enterprise unions exceeds by far that of unions based, nationally or regionally, on industries. Out of 31,129 unions registered in 1951, only one percent had more than 2,000 members. As against this, the membership of over forty percent was below fifty. The lack of unity within the labour movement in Japan has been already mentioned. Besides partisanship and ideological antagonism an additional reason is now obvious: the characteristic feature of trade unionism in Japan, the disproportionate preponderance of the enterprise union as opposed to the national, industrial or regional union.

When describing the present situation of organised labour in Japan, its structure and tendencies, a certain simplification

is necessary in order to clarify an otherwise rather complex picture. This becomes all the more urgent as there is a considerable amount of material available describing the many branches of the movement and their nuances.

Wage and salary earners in Japan today form half of the national income. Twenty years ago, their share was hardly a third. One of the main reasons for the impressive growth of the movement after the war is, first of all, the general pressure for reform and the search for new forms of organisation which gripped Japan. With the collapse of the traditional Japan and under the impact of the new ideas which accompanied the Occupation Force, workers rushed to organise themselves for a multitude of political, social and economic reasons without having always a clear concept of the principles and aims of organised labour. The Occupation authorities released a substantial number of political prisoners who soon, on the strength of their prewar experience in political movements, succeeded in occupying key posts in the leftist party organisations set up after the war. The Occupation authorities welcomed this at first, since it was considered a desirable balance against traditional nationalism, militarism and totalitarianism. The newly established leftist parties made use of the trade unions for their political ends. In addition, the national discipline of the Japanese played its part, too, in the development of organised labour. The Occupation, the new ruler of Japan, welcomed trade unions. So, trade unions were set up. In addition, the galloping inflation which harassed Japan immediately after the war forced the workers to look to their unions for protection of their economic existence.

During the same period, the traditional leaders of Japan disappeared, remained silent or were silenced by the defeat, the threat of political purge and the general breakdown of the national economy. The labour movement in Japan grew, therefore—and this is a rather important point—not as the result of organic growth, slowly and steadily as in the West, but rashly, under unusual conditions, almost in too accelerated a pace commensurate with sound development. This left its marks on the movement. It is not the expression of "the workers' protest" against exploitation by entrepreneurs or of class struggle which characterised the movement in other countries. The movement in Japan reached its present position as a result of the military defeat and under the direction of a generous and benevolent American occupation.

During the first years after the war, two national organisations competed for leadership within the trade unions. One, Sanbetsu, was under the influence of the Communists, and the other, the already mentioned Sodomei, took its lead from the Socialists. Both organisations stood for political action, but were unsuccessful in dominating most of the unions despite the encouragement the Occupation gave to Sodomei. Sanbetsu disintegrated in 1949 under anti-Communist pressure from without and from within. A new attempt to set up an all-embracing organisation resulted in the establishment of Sohyo in 1950. Its declared aims were to concentrate on collective bargaining and on economic action instead of entering the field of politics and ideologies. Membership in the (non-Communist) International Confederation of Free Trade Unions was one of the targets of the new

organisation, but this did not materialise, for in the meantime the signing of the San Francisco Peace Treaty approached. In the turbulent debate around the Treaty, Sohyo, under the leadership of its General Secretary, Minoru Takano, sided with the left-wing of the Socialist Party opposing the Treaty. During the debate the Socialist Party split into two and re-united only in October 1955. A year after the establishment of Sohyo, in 1951, more moderate unions broke with it and re-established Sodomei. Further dissociation brought about the founding of still another national organisation Shin Sanbetsu, based on elements favouring industry-wise unionism. The opposition of the textile workers and of the seamen members of Sohyo against the growing Communist influences increased and resulted eventually in another split and the formation of Zenro, a declaredly anti-Communist body, leaning on the right-wing of the Socialist Party. The actual reason for the establishment of Zenro was the result of a vote taken in 1952 within Sohyo over the accession to ICFTU, when 142 votes were cast against the 42 in favour.

From then on, labour in Japan found itself organised in three different main camps: Sohyo which claims more than three million members, among them two million Government employees; Zenro with about 800,000 members; and the neutral unions whose membership figure is around one million.

The traditional antagonism in the labour movement continues to exist. The general federations, or national, all-Japanese organisations pursue political activities while the enterprise unions stress economic action. The inherent Japanese tendencies towards partisanship and the existence of a large number of independent unions (*i.e.* those not belonging to a national federation) are the main reasons for the comparative weakness of the national organisations. Signs of this weakness became obvious when, a few years ago, the Parliament confirmed Government-sponsored amendments of the labour legislation initiated by the Occupation authorities. The amendments limit the workers' right to strike and impose additional restrictions without the national federations despite their strong resistance having been able to prevent these limitations from becoming law.

The near future will hardly witness the rise of a unified labour movement in Japan. For the time being, the centrifugal forces are overwhelming. The differences between the enterprise unions and the national federations prevent a quick unification. But this does not mean that the present organisations do not offer the prospects of a strong uniform labour movement. It should be recalled that the achievements of the movement in Japan, from its beginnings till today, are, nevertheless, considerable.

NOTE: It is rather difficult to obtain membership figures from the trade unions since each one endeavours to claim a figure as high as possible.

For the benefit of the reader, the names of unions are given in the usual abbreviations instead of their full, rather lengthy denominations in Japanese:—Sohyo — Nippon Rodo Kumiai Sohyogikai — General Council of Japanese Labour Unions, Zenro — Zen Nippon Rodo Kumiai Kaigi — All-Japan Congress of Labour Unions Sodomei — Nippon Rodo Kumiai Sodomei — Japan General Federation of Labour Unions Sanbetsu — Zen Nippon Sangyobetsu Rodo Kumiai Rengo — All-Japan Congress of Industrial Unions.

The Creation of a Malayan Literature

By Han Suyin (Singapore)

WITH independence within visible distance, both in Malaya and Singapore, a whole body of ideas and concepts which, even last year, seemed far-fetched, or rather, in this money-conscious peninsula, unpractical, are being considered and discussed with ever growing interest. What David Marshall, erstwhile Chief Minister of Singapore, called the "sensation of freedom" has proved a mighty stimulant to thinking along lines which so far were distinguished by their non-existence in Malaya. One such is the



Han Suyin, the well known author, is a special writer for EASTERN WORLD

new concern of a small body of university students, professors, Radio Malaya officials, and other English-educated Asians, together with vernacular speaking Malay writers, and Chinese-educated students to start a creative movement of thinking, writing, and producing plays for the radio which would be "all-Malayan." In other words a "Malayan literature": books, plays and so on about life as it is lived in Malaya, by Malaysians of all races—Eurasian, European and Chinese and Malays.

To assess this development let us have a look at the local sources of literature available to this new six-million nation, with its plurality of races and languages. Here is a surfeit, rather than scarcity of "sources" which threaten to suffocate and impede local development of literary talent. For the Malay *literati* there are Indonesian, Arab and Egyptian books among which is the Islamic religious output. The Malay language itself is in the process of reform which will inevitably bring it nearer to modern Indonesian.

Apart from a few well known books like the *Sejarah Melayu*, the Malay annals, the chief inspiration of Malay writers has been Indonesian and Arabo-Egyptian. Most of the present day Malay writers have been educated at Cairo or Jakarta, there being no institution of higher Malay learning in Malaya.

For the Chinese-educated, which in this context means those Chinese who have received their Chinese schooling in Malaya (and this comprises about sixty percent of the Chinese school children of Malaya), the sources of literature are, of course, Chinese. Owing to the political situation, these are confined to a smattering of the classics and, until recently, century-old novels like *The Three Kingdoms* and *The Dream of the Red Chamber* (although both these books are now in danger of disappearing owing to a new ban on the entrance of Chinese books from certain publishing firms in Hong

Kong). The whole body of modern Chinese literature of the past fifty years is not available in Malaya, and when discovered in the hands of the students, has led to expulsion and even detention. Here a curious dichotomy exists in censorship: it is perfectly possible to obtain the works of Mao Tse-tung in English, but to possess them in Chinese is illegal.

In spite of this there has been, chiefly in the form of essays and poetry, a certain output of work from the Chinese schools in Malay, with a hopeful tendency not to describe people and landscape in "Chinese" terms but in a new, Malayan imagery; employing local idioms and tricks of speech in the process. However, political apprehensions have had an effect in flattening originality and producing occasionally annoying distortions of style and content in an attempt to bypass the censor.

For the English educated, who comprise representatives of all races, including Indian, Eurasian as well as Chinese and Malay, the problem again is one of swamping. Until recently English education in Malaya remained a direct and unadapted transplant from the UK. It was only too frequent, and it became finally tedious, to hear the University of Malaya students complain that they learnt poetry about Arctic blasts of winter, and robin redbreasts singing, both phenomena never witnessed in Malaya. But it is an education destined to train government clerks and is therefore not particularly interested in the local landscape, animal vegetable or human. On the other hand, though keenly aware that "we don't know much about our own country" there was an often ill-founded apprehension among the English educated that deviation from the norm might endanger their examination results, and undermine that financial security which is the be-all and end-all of life in Malaya and Singapore. It was nearly impossible for the English educated Malaysians to get acquainted with Malay or Chinese or Indian literature, except through translations.

It was also similarly impossible or at least very rare, for a Malay educated person to get acquainted with either English or Chinese sources; and thus literature in Malaya consisted wholly of three imports mutually exclusive to a certain degree: Indonesia; China (old not new); and the United Kingdom. Writing about Malaya was therefore left, more or less, in the hands of the British "expatriate" or civil servant, the colonial administrator who came to serve a term in Malaya and became, in many cases, interested in the country's fauna, flora, and people, and proceeded to record his interest.

The literary output of the British expatriate (comprising such eminent figures as Sir Richard Winstedt and other "Malay" scholars) is considerable and distinguished. In the tradition of Raffles, these able and sensitive men collected, collated, travelled, examined, studied, and wrote; it is to them that we owe a great deal of knowledge about Malaya. Much

of this garnered information concerns of course the Malays, although several able Secretaries for Chinese Affairs left voluminous and important records on Penang and Singapore, and some of the more obvious aspects of Chinese society in Malaya.

But all this work, however high its literary level, however important its documentary, inspired reportage. Such books, which have added to the store of knowledge embalmed, yet available to all, at the British Museum, not surprisingly have little impact on the Malayan himself, especially now at the time of nation-building. They were written about and not for the local people.

A case in point is a recent book, *Where Monsoons Meet*, edited by Donald Moore, giving excerpts from the writings of "Malay" scholars, that is, mainly the British officials who wrote about Malaya. I have had occasion to discuss the book with several Malays, who read both English and Malay, and it was very plain that they considered the book unpleasant.

We now come to recent books, that is, books produced in the last ten or twelve years, about Malaya and life in Malaya. These fall into two categories: the majority, books by expatriates about expatriates living in Malaya. They are usually in the Somerset Maugham tradition: their heroes are Europeans, inevitably that fast disappearing species, the Colonial official, with his foibles and the usual mixture of drink and fornication which still seems to delight London critics of "Asian" books. No attempt is made to cast any aspersions on the literary quality of these books. But from the Malayan point of view they remain books about outsiders; they are books about white people who happen to be in Malaya.

We are left with a small number of books, written for Malaysians about Malaysians, using the local people, imagery and scenery, and even, in places, attempting to reproduce local idioms. These books represent the final breakaway from the "traditional," Maughamesque way of writing about Malaya, because they identify themselves with the people they

write about. I shall mention them by name: *Maraiee*, by Chin Kee Onn (Harrap, 1952); *Snake Wine*, by Patrick Anderson (Chatto & Windus, 1955); *The Flying Fox*, by Mary McMinnies (Collins, 1956)*.

Of these books, two are by "expatriates," Mary McMinnies, the wife of a Colonial servant; Patrick Anderson, for a short time a lecturer at the University of Malaya. What makes their work so different from the ordinary run "about Malaya" and especially from the much resented paternalistic type of writing, is that in both we have a merging of the authors' personality. Instead of throning in detached and ironical superiority above the scene, both these writers have a deep consciousness of the people they write about as part of themselves. As such, these two books are appreciated by the local English-educated Malaysians, although, perhaps not surprisingly, the local English press gave them scant if not unappreciative comment.

Maraiee, by Chin Kee Onn, a Chinese Malayan, a book about the Japanese occupation, was intensely interesting in its complete natural portrayal of the feelings and reactions of the local people to the problems of the occupation. It is a great pity that nothing more has come from Onn. Soon after the publication of his book, Onn became a government servant, a state which may have dealt a blow to his literary output. Perhaps independence will stimulate Onn to another book.

These books are written in English. In the near future translations in Malay and in Chinese may become available, should an enlightened policy towards Malayan literature emanate from the Merdeka governments of Singapore and Malaya. In the new-born interest in literature, other suggestions are being put forward: the formation of a body of translators in order to make mutually available to each other the works (in the future sense) of Malay and Chinese writers; encouragement for the production of scripts and plays for the radio, depicting local scenes, reproducing local imagery and tricks of speech. As in every other ex-Colony, English in Malaya has been enriched into something called Malayan English, containing an admixture of local Malay words and Indian, Chinese, and Malay phrasing reproduced in English. This gives the local speech a delightful flavour, until now severely suppressed in the English schoolrooms, but which is heard everywhere, in all social groups, and which happily defies the staid conventions of grammar and syntax enshrined in the textbooks imported from England.

The same change has happened to Chinese. There is a recognisable "Malayan Chinese," which is incomprehensible in China, but which is current in Singapore and Malaya, and which tends to blur and merge all the dialects and include Malay words into its idioms.

Will a local "Malayan" literature develop, with its sources in the rich traditions of three cultures at once, the Malay, the Chinese and the English? The possibility of such a mixture is no longer doubtful; its successful achievement a fascinating speculation. Meanwhile, with the first whiff of Merdeka (independence), these questions, never agitated before are being discussed and worried about; and this, in itself, is already an excellent sign.

*The author has modestly omitted her own outstanding contribution to Malayan and, indeed, world literature. Her recent book "... And the Rain my Drink" is, like Chin Kee Onn's book, a work by an Asian about and for Malaysians, and as such it has evoked an interest unequalled by any other book on the local scene. Although it confines itself to describing the Chinese section of the population (and it is doubtful whether any book could encompass more than the problems of one race in a multi-racial country like Malaya), these problems are urgent and controversial enough to have created interest among other sections of the population as well. Here, as in the other three books Han Suyin mentions in her article, is complete merging of the writer with the people she writes about. Although Han Suyin is not technically a Malayan, but rather an "internationalist" who has elected to live and practice as a doctor in Malaya, it is certain that her book is a "Malayan book" and that it will continue to stimulate young writers to accurate description of the natural scene in Malaya. There is no doubt that Han Suyin is the most important exponent of not only Malayan, but Asian literature as a whole.—Ed.

Changes in North Borneo

By Dorothy Thatcher

*A view of Sandakan,
important port of N.
Borneo*



NORTH Borneo today is a peaceful and rapidly developing agricultural country administered under the British Crown, free from the influence of hostile ideologies and with its sinister past well behind it. Indeed, some youthful descendants of former headhunters and "wild" men now go a-wooing wearing a sleek, scented "hair-do" and the latest thing in shorts and sunglasses, rather than dangling the head of a rival. Nevertheless, anyone sailing round the vast island, which is set like a black pearl in the China and Java Seas, will marvel at the temerity of that handful of Englishmen who negotiated with the rajahs of its northern areas in the late nineteenth century. For, even from the sundrenched deck of a steamer, the coast of Borneo looks dark and forbidding, dense with forest and not a glimmer of light, while towering Kinabalu is quite believably the "mountain of the dead."

The result of such undertakings was the establishment of a British form of Government—and internal security—administered by the famous Chartered Company who set up its offices in Sandakan, the first capital of North Borneo (West Borneo is part of the Republic of Indonesia). And while the Borneo Company is still foremost in the field of commerce, with ramifications all over the Far East, the territory itself was ceded to the Crown in 1946, at the same time as its romantic neighbour State, Sarawak, which had been ruled by white rajahs since 1841. The cessions, by mutual agreement, took place after Great Britain regained her Malayan Colony and Protectorate which had been occupied by the Japanese during World War II, in company with other British, American, French and Dutch territories, including Borneo. Now, under the Colonial Office the local people of North Borneo and Sarawak are being vigorously encouraged to take part in governing their own countries—and in forming village councils—but there is no move towards complete self-determination at present.

At the end of the last war, North Borneo—still nearly nine-tenths primitive jungle—had its built-up areas devastated by the necessary liberation tactics and today, after a "shanty" period, the country is rising like a phoenix from

its ashes. Sandakan, the old capital, and Jesselton, the new, have been designed—in conjunction with the Health Department—by expert town planners. The shop houses are spacious and airy, with covered side walks and modern family quarters and should do much to alleviate the tuberculosis tendency which developed during the starvation years of war. Schools, administrative offices, commercial buildings, places of amusement and all important centres are beautifully situated in a garden city layout, while the new Sandakan hospital, modern as a dream, stands high and overlooks the blue waters of the old, enchanting harbour. And just outside Jesselton, in ideal surroundings, a Teachers' Training College has been built which, before long—and helped by young people now studying abroad—should bring education within the reach of most children living in scattered rural communities. Eleven years ago there was almost total illiteracy among the tribesmen and their families.

These are the friendly Ibans, Pununs, Dusuns, Kayans, Sebops and the several other groups who work in remote places and along the lonely coast, earning a livelihood by growing rice, rubber, tobacco, spices, Manila hemp; and by fishing, domestic farming, cloth weaving and working the timber, the finest in the world, which is exported to the limit of manpower available. Shortage of labour has, for the past few years, made North Borneo's development slower than it might have been, but the Government still wisely discourages immigrants from South-East Asia because of possible Communist infiltration.

Because of the poor road system, the rivers of North Borneo are still widely used as a means of transport, though the excellent air communications, both internal and external, have given impetus to its ever growing export business. And for several years now there has been an impressive trade balance on the right side, which for a country with a population of little more than 300,000—two-thirds of which are in the hinterland—is a sign of great diligence and con-

Mrs. Thatcher, who now works in London for the Association of British Malaya, has a first-hand knowledge of Borneo.

certed effort. Indeed, North Borneo produces enough rice to feed three-quarters of its population, besides a large proportion of other foods consumed; and though much of the vast jungle and granite mountains have yet to be explored, this is a country to be watched with interest. North Borneo is a healthy, clean-limbed stripling in its present form, though its ancient past dates back far beyond Islamic influence and the written word.

In spite of the great deal of conversion to Christianity in recent years—and other religions in the past—also the influence of "movies" and, latterly, national radio, there are still the tribes who cling tenaciously to animist belief with all its attending taboos, colourful ritual, legend and paraphernalia; and who are tattooed, wear snow leopard skins, tooth necklaces, exquisite head ornaments; while season by season they evoke the gods to prosper the harvest. Certain Pununs have the power to render themselves invisible after a period of animistic worship and will sometimes demonstrate this strange magic to a privileged stranger. But though they—and other tribesmen—remain devotees to an ancient creed, unlike their forefathers, those magnificent warriors who gave the North Borneo Armed Constabulary a run for its money in the early settlement days, they no longer go headhunting.

In North Borneo, however, this sinister practice was never as bad as it was painted, nor yet was it a racket such as it is purported to have been in the rubber forests of the Amazon Valley at the turn of the century. Apart from all being fair in love and war, before the civilizing influence of the Chartered Company—and the white rajahs in Sarawak—a young male simply could not marry until he had

presented his favoured woman with the head of a rival. Whatever his personal scruples may have been, or the lady's for that matter, tradition demanded this ghoulish symbol of masculinity before the wedding dances and pleasures of a marriage bed. And marriage there always was—and is—for the moral code of the tribesmen, whatever their religious beliefs, is extremely high. Just as the hospitality of a village longhouse is boundless and conducive to indisposition if the occupants distil their own brew (*arrack*).

Visitors to North Borneo today are allowed to penetrate into many parts of the interior, a privilege not generally afforded them until recent years, but even so, only the hardy and terribly enthusiastic attempt to climb its highest mountain, the 13,500 feet granite pile, Kinabalu. This is part of the great Crocker range and believed by the tribes to be the "mountain of the dead," where departed spirits live for ever in peace and plenty, away from the heat and danger of the jungle below. Before an infidel is permitted to climb sacred Kinabalu, the dead must be propitiated by the sacrifice of half a dozen or so chickens, which finally end up in the cooking pot of the guides. This ceremony guarantees the climber safe conduct to the summit as far as departed spirits are concerned, but will give him no protection against blinding rainstorms, snakes, leeches, fever-carrying jungle rats and the swarms of mosquitoes—and other insects—which beset the foothills. As far as height goes, Kinabalu is not, perhaps, an Alpinist's dream, yet it is a rough and arduous climb—and a most rewarding one—for the view from the top, unless blotted out by cloud, takes in not only the vastness of Borneo, but the island of Labuan many days sea travel away.

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The Fighting Bishop of Indo-China

By Thomas E. Ennis

THE sons of France are entering the limbo, where all patriotic Indo-Chinese confine the enemies of freedom.

In cabinets of officials and their staffs, cafés of merchants and their clerks, in clubs of officers and their men, in fields of landed gentry and their peasants, the name of France is mentioned only to be cursed. And yet, among those few of long memories, mention of one noble Frenchman—Pigneau de Behaine—administrator, ambassador of Louis XVI, adviser to King Gialong of Cochin China, brings forth words of praise.

Pigneau de Behaine, born in 1741, began his studies at Laon, and later was a student in the house of the Foreign Missions in Paris. He left France in 1765 for Macao, determined to brave the persecutions against Christians sweeping over Asia. "I have charge of about forty young men, who are being trained for the priesthood. These poor young men formerly lived in Siam but were forced to flee because of war and hide in the forests and mountains." And so in the face of many dangers, Pigneau de Behaine took up his labours as director and teacher in a small seminary.

The forceful priest in 1774, at the age of thirty, was named Bishop of Adran and given the rank of apostolic vicar to Cochin China, Tonkin and Cambodia. At this time a rebellion of three brothers, the Taysons, was disturbing the peace of the peninsula. The young bishop, without thought of self, entered Cochin China and gained the good will of the king, Gialong, who gave protection to the small band of Christians, although he did not personally embrace the foreign faith. When the rebels set out to capture the ruler, escape was made possible through the efforts of the bishop. An English traveller wrote at the time: "For several months, the young king of Cochin China like another Charles, concealed himself and the remnant of his unfortunate family in the shady branches, not of an oak, but of the banyan or fig tree, whose sacred character rendered it, perhaps, in their estimation, the more secure. In this situation they received their daily sustenance from the hands of a Christian priest, Paul, who carried them supplies at the hazard of his own life, till all further search was discontinued."

Gialong and the bishop were determined to end the rebellion. The bishop pointed out that the Taysons, in control of southern Indo-China and supported by a strong army, could only be defeated by a western force. He was willing to go to France and obtain aid. The bishop set out for France with Prince Canh, son of Gialong, two officials of the Royal Council, and an escort of forty soldiers. After an absence of twenty-two years, Pigneau de Behaine stepped on his native soil.

The writer of this article is Professor of Modern European and Asian History in the College of Arts and Sciences, West Virginia University, Morgantown, US.

Until the arrival of the colourful mission in 1787, France knew little of Indo-China. References to missionary activities were restricted to brief political comments. No one had given a clear account of the region. When the Bishop of Adran reached Paris, the Government began to examine a distant land too long neglected. Fortunately for the bishop, he had three powerful friends at court—the Abbé Vermont, tutor to the queen, and the Archbishops of Narbonne and Toulouse. These personages obtained for him an audience with the king. In the presence of the Counts de Montmorin and de Castries, Minister of Navy, the bishop reported that "besides the advantages coming to France from commerce, Cochin China, due to its geographic position, is important for the China trade and the erection of a French factory here will be the way to counterbalance the influence of the English in India. "Here we have the means to prevent the British from driving us out of the Indies." The next day, the bishop conferred at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs where he worked out the detailed requirements for the expedition. Types of cannon, diet, use of tents, all were considered as well as the suggestion that a party of experimental engineers be attached to the contingent.

He was the lion of the hour in this spring and summer of 1787. The court took time away from English and Prussian affairs to receive the impressive, tanned churchman and his protégé, the small prince. Some of his colleagues taunted him for being the son of a tanner but he recognised the jealousy of their remarks and dominated every gathering he attended. Songs were sung in the theatres lauding his plans. The streets were lined with admirers when he passed. The little Cochin Chinese prince excited compassion, due to the misfortunes of his family. He played with the son of Louis, about his age. His costume of red silk and gold was an object of wide comment. The prince's silk turban gained the attention of Léonard, famous hairdresser of the queen, who imitated it in coiffures for the ladies-in-waiting.

The Fates were working against a happy end to the Cochin Chinese treaty. A French agreement with Holland was blocked by an English move. This made any consideration of Asian affairs untimely. De Castries was off the stage in a huff and the fickle de Montmorin who signed the accord on November 28, 1787, with the bishop acting for Cochin China, had no intention of carrying out its stipulations.

All the deception was unknown to the Bishop of Adran. He left France in 1788, reaching Pondicherry, India, the same year. Here he came to loggerheads with the governor-general, Conway, who had been informed by Paris that there was to be no official support for the undertaking. One year later, the bishop, as yet unaware that his treaty was to be considered as a mere scrap of paper, wrote Conway that French honour was at stake, that word given to Cochin China must be kept, and

if nothing were done, he would assume all expenses. The dauntless bishop, in June 1789, sailed from Pondicherry for Cochin China in a merchant vessel, equipped through his efforts, carrying the prince and a small group of French officers recruited in India.

King Gialong, in the meantime, profiting by discord within the rebel camp, was able to settle at Saigon and recover a portion of lower Cochin China. Upon arriving there, the bishop and his officers made the best of a rumour that they were the advance-guard of an imposing expeditionary force sent by the King of France to punish the enemies of King Gialong. The influence of the Bishop of Adran over Gialong is reminiscent of the relationships of Suger, Abbot of St. Denis, with Louis VI and Louis VII and Cardinal Richelieu with Louis XIII. The army was reorganised. The fleet was equipped. Money was minted. A military school was opened. Fortifications were built. Due to the efficient plans of the bishop and his staff, the fleet of the Taysons was surprised and burned in the Bay of Quinhon. A final move to regain territory brought the rebels to the gates of Quinhon where they were destroyed. The Bishop of Adran directed the victorious operations and during the battle became ill and soon died.

The body of the leader was enveloped in silk and placed in a coffin of rare wood. News of his death was held a secret from the native soldiers who were his devoted followers. The funeral oration of King Gialong was a moving and simple one: "I have had near me a wise man, an intimate of all my thoughts, who, from thousands of miles away, came to my kingdom, never to leave me, even when fortune turned against me. I speak of Pierre Pigneau, honoured by the rank of episcopal and the title of plenipotentiary by the King of France. In gentle manner he trained my son. My esteem and affection for him has increased daily. The wisdom of his advice, the goodness which flamed forth in his conversation brought us together more and more. We were always of the same heart."

A Frenchman describes the funeral: "During his sickness, not only did the king send his doctors, but he, the mandarins, and the entire army testified by distressing cries, how much he meant to them. His body, embalmed by royal orders, was taken to Saigon and left two months in a magnificent coffin. The king constructed a great building in the palace court where the mandarins were received who came to honour the master. The king's guard, of more than one hundred thousand men, marched in the funeral procession; more than one hundred elephants were in the convoy personally directed by the king. Cannon boomed during the last sad journey, from one o'clock in the afternoon until nine the next morning. Eighty picked men carried the body." A guard of honour was detailed at the grave and "it was regarded as a profanation to revel here. In his will, Pigneau left all his property to the king and royal family. When Gialong saw the jewels and gifts of the Bishop, he said to the missionaries who brought them, 'Certainly here are beautifully wrought things, but my heart has no feeling for them. I desire one thing only, a small portrait of my master and one of the King of France, to carry

upon my breast all the days of my life.' The king charged one of the missionaries to present the family of the prelate with a brevet which he had composed, in which he lauded his talents and ability, recalled the services he had rendered, and gave him the position of teacher to the young prince, the first rank after royalty, with the surname of Perfect."

Gialong in 1800 engraved upon the tomb: "The illustrious French doctor, Pigneau Pierre, Christian from birth, was yet a young man when he entered our kingdom. In a difficult period he distinguished himself by the wisdom of his advice. He took upon himself an important mission to seek aid in a distant land, braving mountains and seas. For more than twenty years he laboured to bring about the most suitable government for our realm. If our kingdom has become mighty, it is due, above all else, to the genius and care of the great master." An Englishman, visiting Saigon, found in 1819 the memory of Pigneau de Behaine strongly implanted. "Among these people the title of being a countryman of the bishop's is the best safeguard. He has been dead forty years and they speak of him with tears. This I have seen with my own eyes."

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ASIAN SURVEY

MALAYA'S PLACE IN S.E. ASIAN DEFENCE

From Our Kuala Lumpur Correspondent

MALAYA is neither going to be bullied nor wooed by sweet words into joining the South-East Asia Treaty Organization, merely to please certain nations. The tug-of-war aimed at getting the Federation of Malaya to commit herself into joining SEATO has been going on here for months but so far the Chief Minister, Tunjku Abdul Rahman—who is also Minister for Internal Defence and Security—just fences with the idea, smiles and says, "We'll see!"

The normally placid, easy-going Chief Minister was obviously annoyed a few weeks ago following a report from Washington that Malaya was to become the ninth member of SEATO, as if the decision had been reached and the whole question was cut and dried. "I reiterate what I have said many times before," said the Tunjku sternly, "that Malaya will not decide until after independence in August this year whether or not she is going to join."

Britain, Australia and particularly neighbouring Siam, are very anxious to get Malaya's signature into this defence bloc because of her strategic position. On the other hand,

Ministers. After independence, Commonwealth troops in Malaya (now numbering 25,000) are to be reduced by half. But the Federation's own Army (now about 9,000) is to be strengthened and a Federation Air Force and Navy is to be gradually built up.

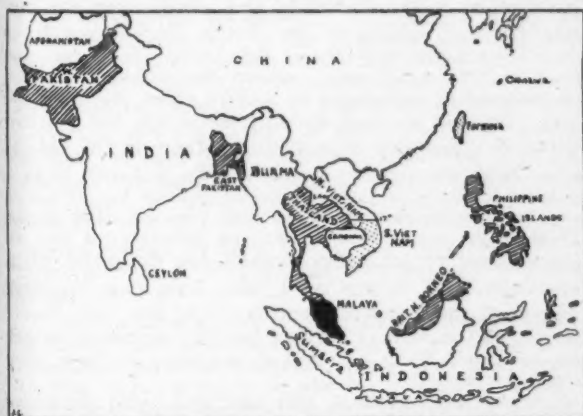
On another front of the Malayan scene—the *padi* harvest front—the story is a positive one. No longer are the *padi* planters in the Tanjong Karang area of Selangor in Central Malaya "ripe plums" waiting to be plucked by the Communist terrorists, as they were a few years ago during harvest time.

Today the situation has changed and it is the terrorists who are feeling what it is like to have the stick turned on them. This harvest time—for the first time since the Emergency began nearly nine years ago—an offensive operation has been launched against the Communists in Central Malaya's rice bowl. Every year until now, security forces have had to be content to carry out defensive measures. It has been their job to safeguard the reaping of the harvest and to see that the planters who have watched and waited for their *padi* to grow get a fair reward for their labours without the squeeze being imposed by the terrorists.

For too long, the 20,000 *padi* planters in the district have been at the mercy of terrorists during harvest time. A few years ago, it was the practice of the Communists to move into the area about this time, brutally murder one or two planters "just as a warning," and then go round with the gun and the hat to collect compulsory funds for their cause. Last year, however, not one planter lost his life—it was a harvest safely gathered in without the spilling of an innocent man's blood. This year, not only is a repetition almost certain, but what is more likely is that the terrorists will be the ones to suffer.

The authorities estimate that there are today some 23 armed terrorists living in and around the *padi* growing basin of Tanjong Karang. If their estimate is true—and there is no reason to doubt it—then this is the largest concentration of terrorists in the Central Malayan State of Selangor in which the Federal capital of Kuala Lumpur is situated. Should this figure be cut by half in the next few weeks of *padi* harvesting then Selangor will be so near to becoming a White Area (an area where terrorism has been virtually wiped out and thus Emergency restrictions can be lifted) that it will be almost "round the corner."

Another section of Malaysians are today worried as to what is going to happen to their livelihood once Malaya becomes independent. They are 10,000 civilian employees of the War Department who work for the British Army here. They are now seeking a guarantee for continued employment after independence and are anxious that the Chief Minister should accept the principle of automatic transfer from the service of the War Department to Government service. They also want the standard of academic qualification for entering Government service to be relaxed.



The importance of Malaya to the member countries of SEATO (shaded) can be judged from Malaya's geographical position. (SEATO sympathisers shown dotted)

Malayan Indians feel that the Tengku should follow the line set by Mr. Nehru and steer clear of SEATO. In recent weeks, too, Formosa has indirectly leapt on to the pro-SEATO band-wagon in the hope of adding a little more fuel to the argument that Malaya should join. In a splash story in the Taipei newspaper, *China News*, Singapore and Malaya were referred to as the "two big lighthouses" in Asia's anti-communist struggle.

Observers in Kuala Lumpur feel that Malaya will eventually join SEATO but her admission will come when she feels she is ready to commit herself and not before. In the meantime the wooers can go on wooing but it will cut no ice with the Tunjku and his Alliance Government

These civilian employees of the British Army realise that their days are numbered as the Commonwealth forces are slashed by half after independence and then will continue to dwindle to even smaller numbers here. The Chief Minister has been asked to discuss this question with the War Office when he visits London this month (May).

Japan

Asian Economic Zone?

From Stuart Griffin

(EASTERN WORLD Tokyo Correspondent)

The Japanese economic world is busily weighing the pros and cons of establishment of an "Economic Zone of Asia." Along this line of thought, the Ministry of International Trade and Industry will soon organise a Council for Studies of the Proposed Economic Unification of Europe. This Council will be set up, with aid from a number of private organisations, such as the Federation of Economic Organisations, the Nippon Foreign Trade Association, and the Japan External Trade Recovery Organisation.

It will be inaugurated, in the words of a leading economist here, "for the purpose of examining the possible influences of the European Common Market—scheduled to start operations soon — on the overall Japanese economy." With respect to influences of the European Common Market, Japanese Government economists clash and express divergent views. Some pessimists forecast that such a European trade bloc would prove a great detriment to Japan's advancing export trade. Others, who prefer the bright side, insist that such an economic bloc would actually serve to spur Japanese trade with Europe, since it would accelerate the growth of the European purchase economy.

Most economists agree that so long as the general world situation indicates a formation of different regional economic zones, something should be done to set up an extensive economic zone for Asia, primarily for the interchange of key commodities and to bring about freer trade. Japanese leaders frankly assert that the leadership of such an agency's development, plus the initiative in inaugurating the body properly rests with Japan.

But trained economists here point to this hitch: the racial and economic sentiments of South-East Asian nations do not, by any means, run parallel to the aspirations and schemes of Japan. The Doubting Thomas-minded economists urge that influences of such a European Common Market (ECM) should be judged together with movements in the free trade area, on a long-range basis. They foresee difficulties ahead for Japanese shipments both to European nations and their colonies and possessions, and primarily because European products, under the ECM, will be able to withstand all but the toughest competition.

Difficulties will be met too in proportion to the European tariff rates and degrees of processing. In fact the only Japanese product that is so specialised that it can claim any exclusive market is that of culture pearls. The pessimists point to shipbuilding, itself a boom industry for export over the past two years or more. They admit that part of the reason for the boom's continuation is due to the fact of "limited supplying ability of western European ship-

building nations." But the point is this: such a happy situation is scarcely likely to continue, once the proposed European Common Market plan is realised.

And the further technological development and the enhancement of productivity on the part of European industries, taken as a whole, will serve—so say these pessimists—to increase the competitiveness of these European industries, most particularly within the European sphere of influence. "Japan must face up to these possibilities," said one economist, "however grim they are, that Japanese merchandise over the next few years will meet harsh European rivalry in the markets of Africa, the Near and Middle East, North and South America, and even traditional South-East Asia.

With vast funds on hand, the European bloc will make determined efforts to cooperate with underdeveloped countries. Japan will be forced to take stock of its export position vis-a-vis these areas." A real penetration into South-East Asia is not a grave threat to the optimists, however. They maintain that this historic Japanese market will remain Japanese, if "we proceed to offer economic cooperation towards South-East Asia in a proper and reasonable manner." But even those who think with a rosy glow admit that such highly specialised Japanese products as automobiles, machinery, and chemicals will suffer a hard blow, "even in South-East Asia, unless our manufacturing facilities are sufficiently rationalised to ensure top-quality competitive goods at rock-bottom, competitive prices."

It appeared earlier to Japanese that the British participation in the free trade area would cause the preferential tariff system of the British Commonwealth to crumble, but that is no longer thought here to be the case. Each country, as Japanese conceive the scheme, will have an independent trade policy of its own within the free trade area. Thus, no one now seriously thinks that the preferential tariff system will be dislocated. Many do feel, on the other hand, that Great Britain, like India, will soon be in a position to take a stronger competitive position against Japan.

Japanese economists agree that the formation of an ECM might bring forth productivity enhancement and an improvement of productive methods and that these might eventually boost income on a wide scale, thus favorably influencing the Japanese economy. This, they call, "easily predictable" in view of the fact that "the economic growth of the United States has worked to expand Japanese shipments overseas."

Some Japanese think that new and highly developed productive methods should be adopted on the premise of the establishment of an extensive regional market. But, they wonder, to what extent will Japan be able to adopt such revolutionary production methods under an official control system? It is furthermore very difficult to set up a powerful Economic Zone for Asia, as under the proposed European plan, in view of the shortage of funds, the over-supply of labour, the differences in languages, customs, above all, working habits.

It would be better, some Japanese economists think, if a mutual supply zone was first thought out, then followed, later on, by a more extensive economic scheme development. "Japan first," one expert added, "must reorganise the national industrial structure and then adopt a new foreign trade policy, so that a greater emphasis would be placed on export markets close at hand, and so that international commerce would be placed on a freer basis."

Ceylon

Communal Tension

From Gamini Navaratne

(EASTERN WORLD Colombo Correspondent)

Communal tension, which reached a dangerous peak in June 1956 with the coming into force of the Sinhalese Only Act, continues to detract the Ceylonese Government. Several times within the past few months members of the Sinhalese and Tamil communities almost came to blows but each time the intervention of Prime Minister Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike saved the situation. Various solutions have been suggested to assuage the feelings of the minority Tamils who are peeved at the denial of official language status to their mother-tongue. But none of them seems to satisfy the Tamils fully. A section of them even goes so far as to demand federal Status for the Tamil-speaking areas in the north of the island. It is the latter who are giving most trouble to the Government and are intensely disliked by most Sinhalese.

The federal solution is in disfavour because of its impracticability, more economically than politically. The Government has countered it with the offer to establish regional councils, which would give the Tamils almost a free hand in the administration of Tamil-speaking areas, to amend the Constitution to include a Charter of Fundamental Rights of minorities and to allow the "reasonable use of Tamil" throughout the island.

Sinhalese reaction to this proposal has been more satisfactory than expected. Buddhist monks who spear-headed the demand for the use of Sinhalese only in the administration have shown no opposition. A large section of Tamils, too, are prepared to accept it as a compromise solution. But not the Federalists. Considerable impatience has been expressed by members of all communities at the protracted delay in finding a solution to this problem. Many point out that at a time when every Ceylonese should be working unitedly to raise the country from its backward status enmity over the language issue is a real stumbling-block.

There is another danger. The Federalists have threatened to launch a civil disobedience campaign in August to achieve their object of a federal union. It can only lead to strife for "the Sinhalese are in no mood to tolerate the impudent demands of these fanatics", as a "Sinhalese fanatic" put it recently. Everything now depends on the round-table conference of Sinhalese and Tamil leaders suggested by the Prime Minister. If a solution acceptable to both communities is not arrived at, then the future would be dark for Ceylon.

Burma

Border Problem

From Our Rangoon Correspondent

Prime Minister U Nu, returning in a glow of enthusiasm from his discussions of the Sino-Burmese border question with Mr. Chou En-lai last November, said that he hoped "it will not be long before we will be able to tell the world that

the matter has been settled to the satisfaction of both our peoples". He continued: "He (Mr. Chou En-lai) agrees that in the sections of the frontier delimited by consent, the Burmese may have suffered and the Chinese too may have suffered, but since there is legal basis his Government would accept them. He considers the 1941 line unfair and one that was imposed upon China while she was under Japanese attack. But nevertheless he would be prepared to accept it if an overall settlement could be reached".

Precisely how the two statesmen arrived at the conclusion that the existing frontier could be unfair to both nations was not disclosed, but that it was a highly satisfactory one as a basis for further negotiation was clearly indicated by U Nu's faith in the success of his mission. Both countries had somehow been victimised, and they were going to put the matter right to their mutual advantage. The question was then taken up by Thakin Tin, a Deputy Premier, U Hla Maung, the Burmese Ambassador to Peking, and U Khin Nyunt of the Foreign Office, who flew to Bhamo to meet Kachin leaders for further discussions. Meanwhile, in Calcutta U Nu was telling the press that he was completely satisfied with the agreement already reached between Burma and China concerning the disputed territory. Three villages, Hpimaw, Gawlum and Kangfang, which China claimed as part of her territory, had in fact never belonged to Burma. The Chinese troops who had infiltrated across Burma's border, he said, had done so by mistake, and a frontier line had never been properly drawn up in that area. They had been withdrawn immediately after he had talked the matter over with the Chinese authorities in Peking.

In this agreeable state of suspension the matter rested, with no further official announcements as to the progress of the discussions, until April 9, when in reply to a question put to him at a press conference in Rangoon U Nu said that since the last statements "one or two points" had been raised by Mr. Chou En-lai, and that he was awaiting clarification of them in a Note from the Chinese Government which he expected to receive shortly. He added: "I do not believe these new points are of great moment, but I shall know definitely when I receive Mr. Chou's Note". A pressman then asked: "Can you disclose the points that have already been agreed upon by Premier Chou?" U Nu replied, "You are a smart guy, although you look a blockhead! If I answer this question you will automatically know which are the points not yet agreed upon".

The question was then raised whether these new points meant that Burma would have to surrender more than the three villages of Hpimaw, Gawlum and Kangfang, to which the Prime Minister replied that the border problem was a big problem, and not amenable to easy solution. "I promise the country will be reasonably informed when the reply from Premier Chou has been received", he concluded.

In the face of the Prime Minister's refusal to take the press into his confidence, the subject was again raised towards the end of the session, when a reporter said: "We had been led to believe that the matter had been successfully negotiated, but it would appear that 'the elephant is stuck at the tail'. Cannot something more definite be told us at this moment?" U Nu replied: "As you know, the issue is a wide one covering more than just Hpimaw, Gawlum and Kangfang. It embraces Namwan, the McMahon Line and the area from Izu Razi to the high conical peak. In trying to reach

agreement over this big issue we have to face certain problems. The Chinese Government, too, has problems to face. It has to allay public opinion, just as we have to on our side." He then repeated that nothing more could be disclosed until Mr. Chou En-lai's reply had been received.

Despite the secrecy with which the Burma Government has tried to allay public misgivings on this important issue during the past five months, it now seems clear that U Nu's initial optimism was not justified by the realities of the situation. The fact that General Ne Win, Supreme Commander of the Burma Army, has been touring the border region with a military party does not lend support to the confidence in a quick and peaceful settlement that has been consistently expressed by U Nu, and some sections of the press are disregarding the official request for no comments by openly speaking of a hitch in the negotiations. It is most probable that the points on which agreement has yet to be reached concern those areas that give access to Burmese territory through the mountain passes from Yunnan. If this is so, it may be some time before any conclusive settlement can be announced.

Community Development

From A Correspondent in Pegu

After several months of preparation a community development pilot project was launched in October 1954 for the purpose of raising the standard of living of the rural population. This project known as the "Payagi Project" has its headquarters at Payagi in an area of some 250 square miles in the Townships of Pegu and Daik-U.

The idea is to develop as fully as possible the economy, health, education as well as the social and cultural life of the people in the 47 villages, covering a total population of 37,227, within the area. Technical assistance, services and amenities are, of course, provided by the Government, but the people are encouraged to use their own initiative, self-help and cooperation.

Village life has become brighter and living standards are rising because of the various "Pyidawtha" schemes adopted for the rural population. For instance, land nationalization has enabled former landless farmers to become land owners. They can grow several crops a year instead of only one, and can use more modern methods of cultivation. Agricultural loans are also available to them. The Agricultural Department and the Land and Rural Development Corporation provide the farmers with several of the facilities he requires.

Children are now in schools instead of receiving no education at all. More schools have been built and the Mass Education Movement has made use of the Phongyi-kyauangs. Moreover, farmers' wives are attended by a trained midwife during their confinement. The Rural Health Unit is composed of a Health Assistant, Vaccinator, Lady Health Visitor and five midwives. The Rural Sanitation and Water Supply Board has sunk artesian wells so that the villages can have pure drinking water. An increasing number of villages have been given electricity, which has encouraged people to read more and listen to the radio. The Government Information Department and the Mass Education Council supply reading matter, but private and public radios are available.

The youth of the village are also catered for as the Union Youth Council, National Fitness Council and Mass Education Council arrange programmes to keep them profitably and happily active. In fact, the number of varied services at the villager's disposal could easily confuse him. But every village has social workers who explain and prepare the villagers for these services. Before a scheme is undertaken its purpose is explained to the people so that they understand that it is for their benefit. For instance, farmers had to be convinced that new methods of cultivation were superior to his.

Coordinating Committees have been appointed at local, district and ministerial levels to prepare full coordination from the people. The Deputy and the Assistant Directors are the main liaison between the coordinating committees and the people, and see that the whole project is properly carried out.

The Rural Development School is another important feature of the Project. Here young men and women from all parts of Burma are given a two-year course in academic and vocational training. Afterwards they return to their respective villages to start community development and organization. Now in its third year there is every indication here that the Payagi Project is raising the standard of living of the community as all the agencies in the project area have operated effectively. The Payagi Project is the first of its kind in Burma and has provided governmental departments with the research facilities needed to solve the several problems that arise in rural development.

United States

Views of China

From David C. Williams

(EASTERN WORLD Washington Correspondent)

In April there appeared in *Look*, which ranks second only to *Life* among American illustrated magazines, a story entitled "Inside Red China—the first American picture story on the forbidden country." Consisting mostly of photographs, with only two pages of text, it would have created hardly a ripple in Britain or any other European country, but in the United States it was a journalistic landmark—the first opportunity Americans have had to read in a magazine of mass circulation an account by American correspondents of life in the largest and potentially one of the most powerful countries of the world.

Chief credit for defying the State Department's ban on travel by American correspondents to China must go to William Worthy, an able American Negro journalist. His articles have appeared in his own paper (the *Baltimore Afro-American*), in the *New York Post*, and in other papers. But they have not reached nearly as many millions of Americans as read *Look*, nor had the advantage of photographs as well as text. Once Worthy had stated his determination to visit China, *Look* followed suit by authorising its Moscow correspondent, Edmund Stevens, and one of its staff photographers, Phillip Harrington, to do so as well.

It is already clear that the State Department will not follow through on its threat to punish these three correspondents, and the publishers who authorised their trips, for defying the ban. Indeed, both the American Publishers'

Association and the American Society of Newspaper Editors have protested the State Department's ban and insisted upon the right of "American journalists to go anywhere in the world where news of importance to their readers is occurring. All three of these first correspondents to visit China agree on one thing—the Peking regime is firmly in power and enjoys the support or at least the acquiescence of the great majority of the people. As Stevens wrote: "Nothing short of a major war of conquest could overthrow it. The country is more stable and unified than it has been for centuries."

Coming from Moscow, Stevens noted striking differences between Chinese and Russian Communism. "The Communists rode to power (in China) on the crest of a mass revolutionary movement with strong nationalistic overtones. Thus the regime has a far broader base of popular support than any other Communist government, including that of the Soviet Union. This gives it flexibility and independence." Stevens also noted that "American influence in China has not been obliterated. Many Government officials and more than 80 percent of China's top scientists have studied in the United States. English is still the most widely spoken foreign language, and more American literature is being published than ever before. Despite anti-American propaganda, we found little evidence of anti-American feeling—quite the contrary . . . China's economy is still tied to the Soviet Union, but many Chinese told us they would like to balance this one-sided relationship with closer ties to the West—both commercial and cultural."

Noting a trend toward "liberalisation," Stevens concluded by observing, "How far it will go depends to a great extent on western policies. Thus far, policies aimed at ostracising and blockading China have, without undermining the regime, forced it to rely almost exclusively on the Soviet Union." These are not heretical or even radical opinions—indeed, it is well known that President Eisenhower shares them. Even before he took office, he firmly rejected the idea that peaceful trade with China and the satellite countries should be cut off. To do so, he maintained, would be simply to increase their dependence upon Russia. Also, he has long questioned whether non-recognition of the Peking regime or its exclusion from the United Nations are really in accord with long-term American interests.

The President has not, however, taken the lead in encouraging public debate upon these matters, and few politicians have dared incur the wrath of the China lobby by doing so. This year, however, Henry Ford II called for re-examination and possible easing of trade restrictions against China. Myer Kestnbaum, one of the President's leading assistants, has publicly raised the question of the recognition of Communist China by the United States—and refused to back down even under pressure from Senator Knowland, the leader of the Republican minority and the unofficial "Ambassador from Formosa." And, with Secretary of Commerce Weeks suggesting the relaxation of the boycott against China, it seems that a real change in Administration policy may be under way.

For the first time in a long while, Americans have heard a Formosan view as well. In a letter which has appeared in a number of leading American newspapers, Thomas W. I. Liao, president of the Formosan Democratic Independence Party, writing from Tokyo, calls for a UN plebiscite in Formosa to determine whom its people want to govern them, followed if necessary by a UN trusteeship. "If the referendum

gave the government to the Formosans," he declares, "we would allow the Nationalists to remain as private citizens, but we would never adhere to the Communists or permit them to take over the island." Liao noted that he had not been able to secure even a transit visa from the United States so that he could bring his case to the United Nations. "There has never been a direct refusal; just answers that 'the matter is still under consideration'."

To a growing number of Americans, this solution makes a great deal of sense. Under it neither the United States nor Communist China would "lose face"; the Chinese nationalists would have the choice of becoming Formosans or returning to the mainland; and Formosa, under international guarantees, would cease to be a menace to the peace of the world. Now that the fog of frightened silence which has shrouded the Chinese questions has at last been pierced, such constructive proposals seem likely to arouse increasing public discussion.

Australia

Blossoming Deserts

From Our Canberra Correspondent

Few Australians as yet are conscious that their nation, the only one in the world in charge of a whole continent (and with territorial responsibilities stretching from the Equator to the Pole), must face almost at once the greatest and perhaps its most decisive problems. These are posed by scientific discoveries in rain-making and in the use of nuclear power for converting salt water from sea and lakes into fresh, which may enable the vast Australian deserts to be made gradually habitable before the end of the century.

The soil is fertile enough, when water is available, to support man, stock and vegetation. This means that an immense new area of the world will become suitable for human habitation. Who will populate it, and what new national and international adjustments will arise? These are the crucial questions already appearing as a cloud on the Australian horizon.

Australians have always been a little conscious of the hundreds of millions of Asians so geographically close to them. They picture all these millions as starving and land-hungry, especially in India and China, and they believe, on little or no evidence, that Asians, if given half a chance, would flood into the arable areas of Australia, not yet fully developed. Little is known of the transmigration schemes in Indonesia, China and elsewhere. Yet in the long range, if the world has 3,600 millions by 1980, there may be some reason for concern.

It was fear of Asia, and especially Russia-in-Asia, which prompted the Australian colonies to federate into the Commonwealth of Australia more than half a century ago. This fear also prompted the restrictive immigration policy, still known, although not officially, as the "White Australia" policy, under which all political parties still oppose even token immigration, for permanent residence, of coloured peoples from Asia and Africa. The policy has been slightly modified recently, to permit Asians who have been in the country for many years and have proved themselves good residents to gain citizenship. Asian brides of Australian servicemen have also been accepted, and welcomed without any sign of discrimination. Australian aborigines living as

Europeans are granted citizen rights, but a great and looming colour problem, not yet fully faced, is arising as the two million or so natives of Australian Papua and New Guinea gradually reach the stages of education, citizenship and some degree of self-government. This aspect, however, is insignificant against the greater problem of filling the immense empty spaces which would become habitable if ample fresh water were made available by the new resources of science, the development now possible within a few years. The facts are simple.

The estimated population of Australia today is just on 9,500,000 persons. The total area is 2,974,581 square miles, of which 1,149,320 square miles are within the tropical zone. Yet of the total area, no less than 2,034,600 square miles has an annual rainfall of less than 20 inches a year, and 1,118,400 square miles receives less than 10 inches a year. Stock can be raised on less than 20 inches a year, but large grazing areas are required. Little or nothing can be done with a rainfall of less than 10 inches. Thus the population figures for the arid and semi-arid areas are in reality the "vital statistics" in this problem. They show that in the immense area of more than one million square miles which has a rainfall of less than 10 inches a year, only 128,000 persons live. In the two-thirds of the continent which has an average of less than 20 inches only 1,460,000 persons live, or little more than one-sixth of the total Australian population. These figures make the average density over the whole of the continent little more than three persons to the square mile.

The density, however, in the under 10-inch area, is only one person for every 8.7 square miles, or one for every 5,600 acres or so. This leaves plenty of room for more if

and when a way is found to produce water sufficiently cheaply, and to distribute it by irrigation over expanding areas of cultivation or stock-raising. The area principally affected stretches from the far west of New South Wales and the south-west of Queensland to the vicinity of Shark Bay in Western Australia. Driest sector is about 180,000 square miles around the great salt lake of Lake Eyre, where the annual average is between four and six inches of rain, and where sometimes rain does not fall for several years. Yet in recent years Lake Eyre has been filled, making a great inland salt sea.

These are the geographical and meteorological facts. Against them are the reports of successful tests of rain-making when the right kinds of cloud are present—and in this dry area the right types appear, but almost always pass eastward without precipitating any of their moisture—and the successes announced in the application of atomic energy in de-salination of water, especially in areas where other sources of power would be commercially impracticable.

The first and subsequent moves will be up to the politicians in Canberra. They will have to provide the funds for the planes which will seed the suitable clouds with silver iodide and for the nuclear power stations which will produce the fresh water and pump it to where it is required. Long before this is done on any large scale, however, the national Parliament will have had to face the real problems—where will the settlers come from to settle and develop these great new areas, what will they produce, what urban and other amenities will have to be provided for them? Will Asia, or Europe, or Australia itself provide the answers? No one in Canberra is ready to hazard a guess.

NATIONALISM AND PLANNING—Continued from page 16

nise the importance of the region. But they are still working on a scale far below the real potentialities of the area. The Colombo Plan, however imaginative and generous, is still based on the requirements of individual countries.

What is now urgently needed is a plan carried out by the South-East Asian countries themselves, taking the entire area as one economic unit. And then, if the development of the whole region is envisaged as such a unit, and only then, can collective negotiations start on the world markets, or with international organisations, for such help which would be needed from the outside. There is no doubt that such close collaboration would produce most beneficial results in the political sphere, as it would eliminate, or in any case reduce, economic jealousy and competition, make the voice of South-East Asia more solid internationally as it would be based on not only spiritual but also material strength, and would find a larger goodwill and support outside, as it would be a concrete alternative to Communism. It is surely clear to most thinking people by now that Communism cannot be fought by military means, but that it is first of all essential to raise the living standard of the people and to give them a goal to fight for which they feel is in their vital interest. Their first goal was to be free to run their own affairs. That has been achieved. The question today is *how*. And it can only be solved cooperatively.

PROBLEMS OF COMMUNIST CHINA

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FROM ALL QUARTERS

Decimal Coinage in India

At the beginning of last month the old system of coinage in India was superseded by a decimal system. Banks were closed during the changeover. The old division was three pies to a pice, four pice to an anna, sixteen annas to a rupee. From now on there will be only rupees and "naye paise" (new coins), the latter being to the value of one hundredth of a rupee. About 600 million coins were issued at the beginning of the system, of one, two, five, and ten naye paise denominations.

New denomination stamps were issued at the same time, and there were long queues in many cities for the first day issues. The new coinage system will greatly simplify accounting and exchange in India, but there may be a period of confusion until people get used to handling the new money. It is reckoned that the new and old systems of coinage will circulate side by side for about three years.

Giant fossil ape in China

China's leading paleontologist, Dr. Pei Wen-chung, revealed to a scientific gathering in Peking last month that a *gigantopithecus*, a giant ape 12 feet tall, was being unearthed in cliff caves in the Kwangsi province of south China. Fossilised bones have been discovered and portions of boar and deer, on which it is thought the ape had fed, have also been found. Professor Pei said that the ape appears to have been more closely related to man than any other ape yet discovered. He thinks that the giant ape probably had a mixed diet of meat and vegetable matter, although its victims seemed to be either very young or very old animals. This seemed to suggest that it had not learned to use weapons of any sort, and no tools had been discovered in the vicinity of the excavations. Professor Pei will be remembered for his discovery of the famous Peking Man, the *sinanthropus*, in 1929.

American military aid to Pakistan

Mr. Ellsworth Bunker, the United States Ambassador in India, said last month in Madras that American military aid to Pakistan was of a limited nature intended to help Pakistan to resist aggression from international Communism. He disagreed with Mr. Chester Bowles, who was US Ambassador in India under the American Democratic Administration, who had expressed the view that American arms to Pakistan promoted an arms race in South and South-East Asia. "Such aid was given," Mr. Bunker said, "on a strict understanding that the arms should neither be used for aggression nor be transferred to a third country." He went on to say that the US would "promptly and swiftly put down any infringement of this agreement."

United States policy on Taiwan and Korea

The American Secretary of State, Mr. Dulles, speaking in Washington last month said that the US had no commitment to defend the islands of Quemoy and Matsu outside the 1955 Congressional resolution. The resolution commits the United States only to the defence of Formosa (Taiwan) and the Pengu and other related areas if their defence is necessary to safeguard Taiwan from attack.

Under the resolution, Mr. Dulles said, President Eisenhower alone is responsible for deciding if an attack on the



Amusement rather than anger characterises the Pakistani crowd, in this picture of anti-Indian demonstrations in Karachi. The man astride the camel is impersonating Mr. Nehru

outlying islands is directed at Taiwan. The Secretary was answering a question on whether the United States had given guarantees to President Chiang Kai-shek relating to the defence of the off-shore islands of Quemoy and Matsu.

According to the biography of Mr. Dulles by John Beal, published in the US last month, President Eisenhower is said to have sent a personal letter to President Chiang Kai-shek "satisfying him that the United States would help defend Quemoy and Matsu."

Mr. Dulles also said that while it may be true there had been severe violations of the armistice in Korea, it would be incorrect to consider the armistice void or to resume belligerency. He also said the United States does not favour making atomic weapons available to American forces stationed in the Republic of Korea, for use in the event of hostilities being resumed.

"Brahmaputra" launched

The Indian anti-aircraft naval frigate "Brahmaputra" was launched last month at the Clydebank yard of John Brown & Co. Ltd., by Mrs. V. L. Pandit, India's High Commissioner in the UK.

This naval frigate, together with an anti-submarine vessel which was launched in the UK a few months ago,

represent a further step in implementing the modernisation of the Indian Navy. The launching was a colourful ceremony in traditional Indian fashion. In naming the frigate, Mrs. Pandit applied kum-kum (vermilion powder) to the stern of the frigate and garlanded the ship. She broke a coconut on the side, this taking the place of the traditional western custom of breaking a bottle of champagne.

Saigon River at night

At the present time ships cannot go up the estuary of the Saigon river at night as practically all the lights and buoys along the thirty mile stretch were destroyed or badly damaged during the war. A project has now been drawn up by the South Viet Nam Government, with the help of the US Operations Mission to Viet Nam, to open up the river for night shipping.

The new project will replace the destroyed equipment with a new and improved system. The lighthouse at Cape Padaran, about 180 miles north-east of the entrance to the Saigon river, will be rebuilt. When the project is completed navigational hazards will be reduced, the turn-round time of

ships in the harbour and shipping costs will be decreased.

Children's books in Indonesia

The British Council has recently dispatched 1,350 books for children for exhibition in Indonesia, where they will form part of a permanent, international exhibition in Jakarta. The display is planned as a pilot children's library, where librarians will be trained. The exhibition is being shown by the Children's Library Committee of the National Library Board on which the British Council is represented. It is intended that other children's libraries, when they develop, will take this as a model.

The books, which have been supplied free by the publishers, are for children and young people up to the age of 16. About half are reading books for use in school. The rest will be displayed, and catalogued, by age groups and subject: the first group for small children; those for younger children divided between fiction and general and those for older children in the following sections: the arts, biography, history and travel; sport and recreation; science, natural science and mechanics; fiction; reference.

Letters to the Editor

KERALA COMMUNISTS

Sir.—The Communists now in control of the government of the State of Kerala have not let grass grow underfoot in seizing opportunities. They have started off with a bang by reducing the income of ministers and now it looks as if they might proceed with the nationalising of estates owned by foreigners.

The Congress had better look to its laurels. The Communist Ministry in Kerala is going to show up Congress leaders who have all over India become complacent and in many cases sunk to the depths of good living. By being simple in their personal activities they will contrast well in the public eye with Congress ministers who are gay at public expense, and extravagant.

The Congress has not much time. Once the Communist regime in Kerala gets firmly established and shows what it can do by austerity, people will believe in it. Congress will then become a casualty. What will then happen to democracy? It will surely disappear.

Yours etc.,

N. VAIDYANATHA

Madras 17,
S. India.

EXPERIMENTS IN DEMOCRACY

Sir.—The view you put forward in your April leading article on Indonesia is quite new. What you say in effect is that as democracy does not work in Indonesia then President Sukarno is justified in taking to a system whereby he, the President, controls the government by himself.

There are arguments for and against you. Each country has to have its own arrangement as suits it best. That's true.

What I do not understand is why you take different lines in your editorial articles over Indonesia and Pakistan—two post-war independent countries.

You hold the view that democracy may be wrong for the time being for Indonesia, but you are always saying that Pakistan is not properly democratic and should have a democratically elected government by holding elections. You plead for what you call democracy in Pakistan but not in Indonesia. Is it because you think that it is an affront to the former British connection that a country at one time ruled by England should carry on without western democracy, whereas a former Dutch colony can be ripe for experiment.

Have you thought that Pakistan may not be ready for western democracy yet.

Yours etc.,

SAYEED MAHMUD

Paris 9e,
France.

NOTE: *Countrywide democratic elections have taken place in Indonesia. The system has been tried. In Pakistan there has been no overall democratic election as yet.—Ed.*

LOADED DIPLOMACY

Sir.—I was largely in sympathy with Col. Pelly's letter in your March issue until I took another look at your February "Comment." It is never easy to think fairly about the Communist States, and on second thoughts I found myself agreeing with your arguments, but feeling understanding for the Colonel's sentiments.

Col. Pelly regards the governments of the Middle East countries as identical with their people, and then parcels them off into the western or eastern camp. I should

not object to this if he adopted the same criteria for the East European countries. There he assumes that the people are all against their governments. With all reservations about the popularity of East European governments, there is plenty of evidence that the governments of Arab countries siding with the West are detested by their peoples.

The Colonel asks, "Why should China expect to be consulted about a Suez settlement when she is neither dependent on the Middle East for oil, nor on the Suez Canal for her trade?" The same question can be asked, substituting only the name of America for that of China. The hard fact is that America is already there—and so is Russia. It is on this factual basis that Nehru suggests a meeting of America and Russia to discuss a viable solution for the Middle East. As for China's business there, it is more than likely that if and when an agreement is reached, both the Russians and the Egyptians may want both China and India to add their signatures to guarantee the peace of the area.

At the same time I should like to take issue with your "Comment" too. I cannot share your surprise and regret that China joined the Russian reply to the "Eisenhower doctrine," issued in Moscow on January 18. America has after all caused China more damage than Russia, and is even now creating a potential threat by the American forces on China's doorstep. Anyhow, if the Sino-Soviet military alliance is a genuine partnership, they will of course move together in serious matters, not as in the West, make unilateral sorties. Finally, if, as most people now agree, China really is a great power, then her influence, for good or ill, is going to be world-wide.

Yours etc.,

R. K. MUKERJEE

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Recent Books

SIDELIGHT ON REVOLUTION

Guerilla Communism in Malaya: Its Social and Political Meaning by LUCIAN W. PYE (*Princeton University Press. London: Oxford UP, 45s.*)

The sergeant leading his patrol through the Malayan jungle stumbles on a Communist camp. The rifles snap and in a matter of seconds there is one dead, one wounded and another fleeing through the jungle leaving a trail of blood. Would the sergeant ever stop to think that the young Chinese he has surprised, after long vigils and desperate tramping through the insufferable jungle, might earlier that day have been attending a lecture at which, Mr. Pye learnt, "they followed with interest Lenin's personal feuds with Plekhanov, Martov and others, and they recognised a struggle of cliques in the Bolshevik's relations with the Mensheviks and the Economists?" And they had enjoyed the lecture too, much more than they enjoyed extorting subscriptions not to mention terrorism. And when they did surrender and come over to the anti-Communist side the worlds were still far apart. "The democracies keep everything secret," they complained, "they tell no one what their plans are. Who knows what the strategy and tactics of Wall Street

are? If I had wanted to work for the democracies against the Communists, how would I have known what to do?" How indeed? When will our statesmen learn that anti-Communism is not enough?

It is pleasant to welcome a book that genuinely gets to the facts and the feelings of revolution in Asia. Let it be said plainly, before any criticism supervenes, that this is a book to be read. It is limited in its scope, perhaps unnecessarily so, since it leaves so many aspects of Malaya unstudied. It takes surrendered terrorists (SEPs) only in their Communist context, while the reader may well ask for a little light on the relations between the Communists in the jungle and the people of the villages, or on how the SEPs are received by the Chinese community to which they return from years in the jungle. But if the book is limited, the lessons that can be learnt from it are quite the reverse. It is divided into two sections: the first studies the Communist doctrine of People's Liberation movements, as tardily copied from the Chinese in 1948, and relates this doctrine to Malaya with an account of the early years of the Malayan Communist Party and the beginnings of the Emergency after the war. The second, and larger part of the book, is the sifting of Mr. Pye's interviews with 60 SEPs in 1953. At times these interviews take the author off into the general realms of sociology, so that the differences between those who came out of the jungle and those of their like who never went in—if differences there are—are left to the reader's speculation. It must also be said, as Mr. Pye at several points admits, that the results of this questioning tell us about the Chinese in Malaya rather than the guerillas in other Asian countries. Here again the reader must judge for himself how much does also apply. What, perhaps, the author fails to realise is that many of the attitudes and values he records apply specifically to the Overseas Chinese and not to the Chinese of the mainland.

The main problem of the young man in Asia today is still the conflict of adjusting his own civilisation to that of the West. He sees his own society breaking up while the process of complete westernisation remains difficult. The young men Mr. Pye interviewed had revolted from the Chinese tradition as they saw it. They were daydreaming of a new society. (Several of them mentioned Robinson Crusoe on his own island as an image that had appealed to them). They were unhappy and frustrated, but not for the personal reasons of an unhappy childhood that a western psychologist might assume. Their needs lay in society. They were educated above their social status; they saw only decaying Chinese institutions. How could they get on in the world? Clearly they should join some progressive, modern social group that could come to terms with the West on their behalf. The reaction was not unlike the graduate in England deciding that the Civil Service was no longer a smart career but that Television or Nuclear Power were now the thing of the future.

Western Enterprise in Indonesia and Malaya

G. C. ALLEN & A. G. DONNITHORNE

The authors of *Western Enterprise in Far Eastern Economic Development: China and Japan* have now offered a description and an analysis of the part played by western firms and governments in the economic development of Indonesia and Malaya. The period covered by the survey extends from the early decades of the nineteenth century to the nineteen-fifties and the treatment is increasingly detailed as it approaches the present day. Special attention is given to the great changes which have taken place since the Second World War, and the authors venture a forecast as to the prospects for western enterprise in the future of this region. Much of the information comes from firms engaged in business in or with South-East Asia. 25s.

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Like all Chinese they thought in terms of personal connections: their loyalty to the Malayan Communist Party central committee—whose names they hardly knew—was unquestioned merely because these men were the stars they had hitched their personal wagons to. The Chinese tradition of male friendship was also a useful cement for the Party. What these young men were looking for was "personal security and a career that would make them part of the modern world." Once they had left the living standard and values of the peasant, where could they turn? Not to the Government in Malaya with which they had no contact whatsoever. The foreigner was still a strange being, to be described in terms of his smell. Nor did these SEPs distinguish between Government and other European civilians. A white man was a white man and they were all one and all Government—which explains some of the senseless murders of planters and others.

Standing back from this evidence Mr. Pye observes wisely that we shall all be wildly wrong if we think Communism in Asia can be correlated with poverty or even with nationalism. It would be no less unwise to think of economic aid solely in terms of anti-Communism—a warning Mr. Pye, an American, needs to make in his own rather than this country. The attraction of Communism is thus to the man in need of a doctrine to live by; the man who wants to move at one jump into the modern world. "It is not surprising," adds Mr. Pye, "that the most coherent political theories and philosophies are those which are imported . . . those most explicit, most formal, most embracing will be chosen." This, of course, is far more true for the Chinese who have always lived by the light of their basically rationalist temporal beliefs than for Islamic or Buddhist societies which can accommodate a good deal of westernisation while leaving their traditional structure in being. Even then they tend to get assertively Buddhist or Islamic in face of their problem of westernisation.

There are many other small nuggets to be found in this book. The influence of Moscow was hardly dented by China in the minds of these SEPs (though the change since must be considerable); the MCP "working-style", to borrow the Chinese term, was also more Muscovite than Chinese. Similarly the sense that they "were now involved in something that was not local, petty or inconsequential" meant that the international character of Communism had a meaning for them rather greater than for Communists in China. In Malaya "the feeling of association with international Communism had destroyed in them any sense of personal inferiority towards all that Europe and the West represented. The silly propaganda from Taipei is exposed: "the more people say China has given in to the Russians, the stronger China gets. This doesn't make sense" complained one SEP.

Some of the criticisms that come to mind must be stayed by the date of the book. The SEPs that Mr. Pye was interviewing in 1953 had all been in the jungle since 1948. His definition of "liberation Communism" is perfectly sound but surely the phase he defines has long since ended, even if, in Malaya and Burma, Communists are still trying to extricate themselves from the impasses into which the policy led them. Mr. Pye at one point seems to assume Communist guerilla policies are still in vogue. So, too, the rapid advance of Malaya towards self-government (Mr. Pye's preface is dated January 1956) and outbursts among Chinese schools in Singapore and in the Federation have altered much of the picture he draws.

Sometimes one detects Mr. Pye's own conflicts—or should one say contradictions? On one page SEPs are found to have a "conspicuous lack of any belief that people might seek to become identified with abstract values and that politics might be used to serve the public good." Later we are told "they responded to emotional and idealistic sentiments . . . in Communism they had discovered a purer, more morally meaningful existence . . . they reacted with all the idealism of youth . . ."

But these are small points beside the truths this book brings out so clearly. Of course, it comes about five years too late for any intelligent western policies in South-East Asia, but there are still many lessons to be learned from it.

RICHARD HARRIS

British Military Administration in the Far East 1943-46 by F. S. V. DONNISON (*H.M. Stationery Office, 40s.*)

The story of the administration of enemy occupied territory in the second World War is wisely being concentrated into a self-contained publication of four volumes. "Military Government" was the formidable label for much improvisation, a certain amount of chaos, but, by and large, heroic achievement in the selfless and efficient direction of millions of drifting, suffering humanity, whose only desire was to return to living their lives in their own way.

So far as the Far East was concerned, for the British forces the task was complicated by the fact that the communities taken over were sometimes ex-colonials of an Allied Power, sometimes citizens of an Independent State, and more often populations of former territories under British control.

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AU SOMMAIRE:

- | | |
|--------------------|--|
| Jean de BOSCHERE | * Le Chant du Cygne (conte français). |
| Jean-Yves CLAEYS | * Lén Dong (conte ethnographique vietnamien) |
| A.R. | * Tang, l'amateur de miel (conte banhar). |
| Thao Nhoy ABHAY | * Les Verrats et le Tigre (conte lao). |
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The difficulties were multiplied by circumstances of starvation conditions. Problems as to the best method of importing food arose. Should rice for Burma be purchased in the open market and brought in through normal commercial channels of communication, where they existed? Or should the machinery of military procurement be used? What range of commodities should be imported? For how long were emergency measures to operate? These were some of the many questions with which a band of faithful British officers and civil servants wrestled. Behind the surface of unsophisticated and pragmatic acceptance of help to vast numbers of the simple agricultural peasantry of Asia, were the restless emotions of many young men with their thoughts on the coming political and national emancipation.

While this volume is primarily of interest to those soldiers who incline towards an inquisitive approach to civil and international problems, it has its value for any student of S.E. Asia searching for the origin of political and social trends in the post-war era. But one example from among hundreds, is the lucid exposition of the problems facing British forces called on to occupy an Indonesia which had already defied its former Dutch masters and proclaimed a Republic.

Mr. Donnison has fulfilled a worthy assignment in the grand manner. The maps, type, style and upholstery of H.M.'s stationery office are superior to modern commercial standards and the book is cheap at the price.

LORD BIRDWOOD

Death of a Navy by ANDRIEU D'ALBAS (*Robert Hale*, 18s.)

England played little part in the naval war against Japan so that the English reader will not be familiar with many of the actions and campaigns described in this history.

The wonder of it is that Japan managed to hold out as long as she did; her carriers were outnumbered and often out of action for extensive repairs in a war where control of the air became ever more important; she paid little attention to the protection of merchantmen or the replacement of lost merchant tonnage—the first real signs of a shortage of transport craft appeared as early as the autumn of 1942. Above all, there was a chronic failure by Army and Navy, and sometimes even by certain admirals, to forget their differences and to plan together; in the midst of all these wrangles, home industry was allowed no claims at all. The Army wished more than anything to recall its forces and to plan for an attack on Russia: the Navy, with eyes for the Pacific rather than for the Asiatic continent, was left almost alone in the South Pacific.

Two aspects of the war in particular stand out and are reiterated constantly as the author sums up. First, the immense advantage gained through prior knowledge and the wider use of radar by the Americans and, secondly, the ineffectiveness, in the first half of the Pacific war at least, of high-level B-17 bombing.

Captain d'Albas married the daughter of a Japanese admiral. He thus writes with a certain sympathy and from the Japanese viewpoint—"the enemy" is America—as well as with a fund of sources and information which his connections and his ability to speak and read the language offer. In fact, the detail is often quite startling—752 eight-inch shells poured on to an airfield, a cruiser hit by a torpedo from submarine 1-26 at 1101 hours and so on. Occasionally

the colour of the French seeps through the translation, which is admirably sustained, and, behind all the massing of huge forces, the catalogues of losses (which never become dull) there is always the eye for the personal touch and the courage of the individual.

GEOFFREY BOWNAS

Burma in the Family of Nations by MAUNG MAUNG
(Djambatan, Amsterdam, 22s. 6d.)

South East Asia is only today producing its own historians. Chroniclers it has had in good number, but "scientific" historians are only now coming forward. This is the first full-length history of Burma by a Burman in English, and as such it deserves note. Westerners will profit from study of this dispassionate, judicial analysis of the cataclysmic impact of western Imperialism upon a small but proud nation. Asians may discover that the downfall of this nation was due, at least in some measure, to the pride, obscurantism and rigidity with which the West was received.

The whole story was epitomized in the ludicrous manoeuvres over the "Shoe Question": Burmese insistence that British envoys to their Court must remove their shoes before coming into the King's presence or even into the vicinity of the royal palace. The Siamese, bound by a similarly rigid etiquette, nevertheless were quicker to adapt their customs to the outside world. Sir John Bowring was allowed to appear before King Mongkut, brass buckled patent shoes and all: it is no coincidence that Siam successfully avoided the colonial *entr'acte*. On their side the British made a preposterous pother over this minor sartorial detail, although those officials who knew Burma best, notably Sir Arthur Phayre, were not among the fuss-makers. The more the British objected, the more the Burmese tightened up their protocol. In the end, deadlock over the Shoe Question led to the termination of diplomatic relations, and, as Dr. Maung Maung wryly observes, "a reader might be led to think that the British were forced to annex Burma in order to solve it".

The author goes on "One cannot help thinking that if only the Burmese and the British could have sat round in informal discussions on matters of common interest and sought settlements on outstanding issues in an informal manner, relations between the two governments could have taken a happier course". This conclusion seems relevant not only to the past but also to the future.

HUGH TINKER

An Economic Survey of Communist China by YUAN-LI WU (Constable, 63s.)

For western students, the task of making an objective assessment of the economic success achieved by the Government of Communist China is made doubly arduous by the absence of independent sources of information and the difficulty of making an unprejudiced approach; yet understanding is more urgently required, if China's economic importance is to be accurately assessed in the future.

Since independent sources do not exist at present, Yuan-Li Wu, in this book, has been obliged to make extensive use of official Communist Chinese statistics. It is partly because a decree of 1951 made the disclosure of "vital" economic information a capital offence that the author has felt justified in attempting his assessment at this moment. Sufficient reliable information exists today. Later, it may not.

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failure of the Chinese experiment will unquestionably influence the policies adopted by the new nations of the East. It is not without significance that, for some years, the economic studies of students at the best Japanese universities have included a detailed knowledge of Chinese economic planning.

In countries whose economic problems in any way resemble those of China, it is inevitable that the question should be posed — as it has been already by President Sukarno of Indonesia — whether freedom from want ought not to take precedence over freedom of expression. To readers of EASTERN WORLD, it will be almost a commonplace to insist that in most under-developed countries, especially non-Christian ones, economic policy is more likely to determine political formulae than the other way round. The failure of western paternalism, capitalism, parliamentaryism — call it what one will — to achieve freedom from want, where it has failed, has been its own condemnation in the eyes of economically backward peoples.

It therefore behoves nations with colonial responsibilities and all who care that the western way should succeed, to know what the new leaders of China are seeking to do, by what means and with what results to date. Doctor Wu attempts, in his own words, "a strictly factual description and analysis" of the Chinese Communist Government's aims and the heritage on which it began to build, followed by a detailed analysis of each sector of the field.

There is no doubt, on the evidence of the facts analysed in this 500-page survey alone, that a revolution has already taken place — not just a *coup d'état*.

With all this has gone a revolution in ways of thought among China's 600 million people — which is not to infer that all these changes have gone unresented and unopposed, of course. The experiment has now gone on long enough for its inherent defects to become discernible and Doctor Wu has no doubt that, while on the one hand, the Communist Chinese economy could not support the demand on its resources that an all-out war would make; on the other hand, the regime will not collapse of its own accord. Political and philosophical considerations entirely apart, his own description reveals that a sufficiently broad sector of China's population is now actively involved in the regime's success to put the idea of effective political opposition, so long as the experiment "works," out of the question.

Dr. Wu's conclusion appears to be that, paradoxical as it may sound, the greatest challenge presented by Communist China is not military. The military threat is only serious in areas adjacent to China where there is no will to resist. A far greater challenge, Dr. Wu believes, is presented by the attraction of the apparently successful industrialisation and the enhanced prestige of a formerly backward country, achieved under an all-powerful government. "If an effective alternative is not presented by the non-Communist countries," he says, "the remaining underdeveloped countries of Asia and elsewhere may be led to believe, albeit erroneously, that there is no other alternative."

RICHARD ROWE

Chindwin to Criccieth; the Life of Godfrey Drage
by CHARLES DRAGE (*Gwenlyn Evans, Caernarvon*,
12s. 6d.)

Colonel Drage passed his childhood and young manhood in the East of Rudyard Kipling. He took part in an expedition into the Chin Hills, then worked as a civil officer in Lower Burma and finally served as a political officer in the

Shan States. This biography is told almost entirely in his own words, and it is a remote little world that is unfolded. The clubs, the regimental messes, the big game shoots of the British "are gone, aye ages long ago," but the Shans, the Was and the other hillfolk in their isolated mountain recesses still live the lives depicted in this book. The detailed descriptions of these peoples are not without value: the viewpoint adopted is, necessarily, dated, but it was an honest viewpoint. Although this is a narrative of small things it forms a genuine story about a genuine human being.

H.T.

Reports on Roads and Road Problems in South East Asia and the Caribbean by Mr. F. H. P. WILLIAMS (*HMSO*, 13s.)

In South-East Asia the problem of transport, including road transport, is of vital importance for the overall economic development of the countries of that area. The present report is based on a two-month tour of the Federation of Malaya, Singapore, North Borneo, Brunei and Sarawak in 1953 by Mr. Williams, Colonial Liaison Officer for Road Research (the second part of the publication deals with the Caribbean).

While four years have passed since Mr. Williams' tour of South-East Asia, many problems outlined in the report still remain. The report gives a general account of the roads in these territories and the problems encountered in building and maintaining them; they briefly describe the local materials available and the topographical conditions with which the road engineer has to deal.

The report emphasised the urgent need for research and it is gratifying that in the meantime a Colonial Road Research Committee has been set up (in June 1955) and that a Colonial Section has also been established at the Road Research Laboratory. This book makes interesting suggestions to the effect that more use could be made, than is being done at present, of local materials and says that "the use of rubber in roads is of particular interest to that area because it is one of the main products".

A. JAMES

Sixty Years of Advertising (in Japanese) is a fascinating document. Many of the present-day idiosyncracies which one assumed to be post-war are revealed as much more deeply ingrained. Nearly always, cigarettes are given, and for years have been given, English or Roman-lettered names. The "Peace" or the "Fuji" of today are the descendants of the "Hero" of 1900 or the "Peacock" of the following year. (The "Peacock" advert, strangely, shows a pegasus, rampant, smoking, and straddling the Arctic). Bottled beer too—though never draught—always has labels almost entirely in English; the Asahi Beer label of 1898 is practically identical with today's.

Wartime advertisements also are interesting. One *saké* firm invites you (with the national flag as background) to use its products when you drink to the fall of Nanking, while "Aji-no-Moto", the seasoning,—"for army and civilian alike"—displays the savage muzzles of three huge guns and, far away in the sky, two minute Zero aircraft.

G.B.

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in South-East Asia
and the Caribbean

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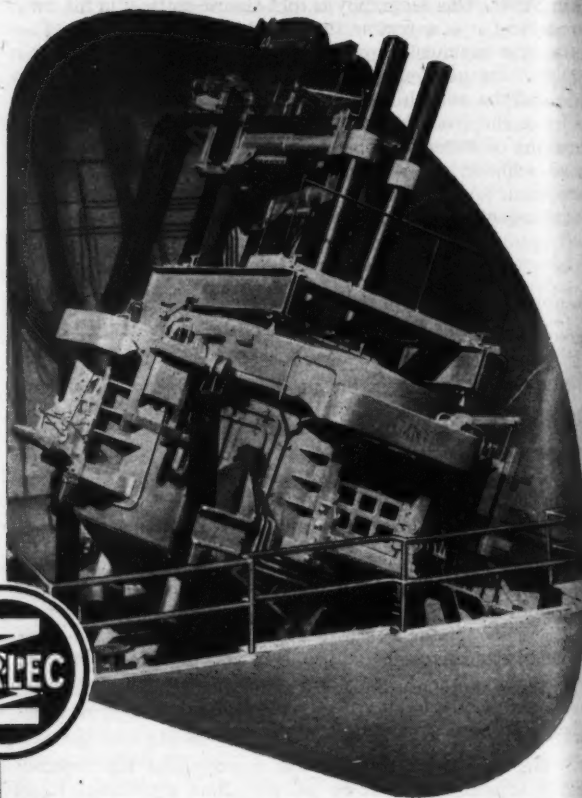
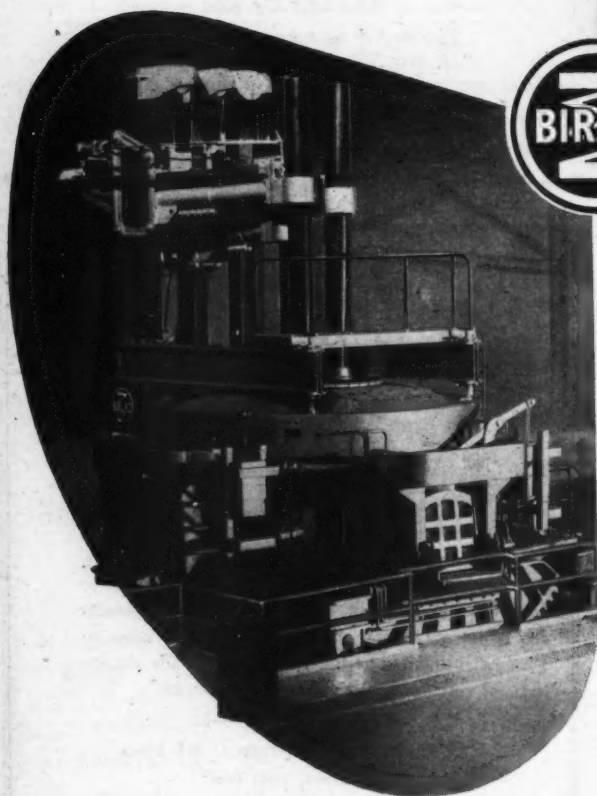
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Economics and Trade

THE CHINA MARKET

By Our Economic Editor

THERE is a growing belief among west European businessmen that the obsolete and particularly nonsensical embargo on trade with China will be relaxed shortly. Reports from Washington indicate that under pressure from west European countries and Japan the Americans will have to give way to the appreciation that liberalisation of trade with China is of great importance to the national economy of these countries. Even if at this stage the United States will not relax its own trade restrictions with China, American subsidiary companies operating in other countries, like Japan and West Germany, and companies in these countries in which there is American capital or technical participation—would benefit from easing the embargo.

The recent big order placed by the Soviet Union with a group of British firms for the equipment of a very large tyre factory (the contract is reported to be valued at over £10 million) has demonstrated once again the potentialities of the markets "behind the various curtains."

Even with the embargo restrictions (alleviated to some extent by the exceptions procedure) prevailing during 1956, trade with China increased considerably as against the previous year. In 1956—to take only a few examples—France more than trebled her exports to China, West Germany's exports increased by nearly 50 percent and were higher than UK exports which increased by nearly 40 percent.

The following table shows the trade development of some west European countries with China, and it is noteworthy that with most of these countries China had a favourable trade balance:

	Imports		Exports	
	1956	1955	1956	1955
France (whole year — million francs)	5.164	4.115	7.976	2.502
Germany (whole year — million DM)	222.9	192.7	155.8	109.9
UK (whole year — million £)	12.6	12.3	10.7	7.9
Belgium (first 9 months — million francs)	156.8	64.6	727.5	257.5
Denmark (whole year — million D kr.)	9.6	1.1	21.6	0.5

During the first two months of 1957 UK trade with China registered a further increase. Imports from China reached the value of £2.8 million as against £1.5 million during the corresponding period of last year, and exports were valued at £1.7 million as against £1.3 million during the

corresponding period of 1956. A relaxation of export embargo would affect not only the size but the type of exported goods.

In connection with China's economic development which is proceeding on a gigantic scale, the country's import requirements show a structural change compared with the past when most of the imports consisted of consumer goods. To execute development projects China has, during the last few years, been importing industrial equipment and machinery, including complete installations for new factories. Together with machinery, China's industries increasingly require raw materials like copper wire, rubber, cotton, jute, wool tops, etc., to be able to produce more goods for the country's increasing population, particularly as China's economic plans lay stress on a large increase in the production of consumer goods.

The development of China's agriculture means a swelling market for tractors and other agricultural machinery as well

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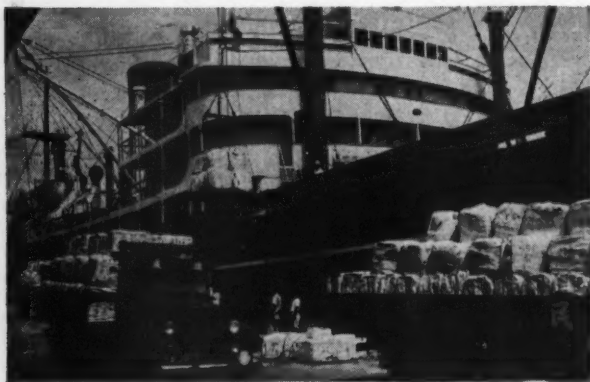
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as of fertilisers, while the development of the transport system leads to an increased demand for various types of equipment, machinery and rolling stock. This does not mean that China is not interested in importing finished consumer goods, as well as the raw materials for making them herself. With the rising of living standards China represents an important market for woollen piece goods and watches.

China's ability to pay for largely increased imports has sometimes been questioned by western businessmen. The fact is China has had a favourable trade balance since 1950. China's foreign exchange funds are regularly augmented by remittances from overseas Chinese, and the country's economic development leads to greater exports.

The recently published book *Trade with China* (a practical guide, published by Ta Kung Pao, Hong Kong, 147 pp., 15s.) says that "As the industrialisation in China progresses, China will need ever increasing quantities of material for national reconstruction. China's ability to pay will increase in proportion with the development of production."

This book lists a number of goods which China has been importing on a large scale during the last few years. They include in addition to complete factory equipment, metal-cutting machines, petroleum and petroleum products, tractors and fertilisers (large contracts for fertilisers were placed in Belgium, West Germany, Japan and other countries), steel products ranging from thick steel plates for shipbuilding to tin plates for the canning industry. The requirements of these goods will increase in coming years, together with requirements for precision instruments, microscopes and other instruments needed for economic development and scientific research. The book also refers to an order placed recently with a Swedish company for the supply of 380 drillers valued at approximately £8 million.

According to *Trade with China* there has been "an increase of 70 percent in China's trade with Asian-African countries during 1955 as compared with 1954, and the year 1956 saw another increase of 39.4 percent compared with 1955. China's trade with western nations, though still lagging behind the 1950 level, has also shown considerable development. An increase of 36.8 percent over 1954 was registered for 1955 and a further increase of 29 percent over 1955 was registered for 1956."

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Doing Business With Ceylon

From Austin de Silva (Colombo)

SEVERAL countries, both of the West and the East, have sought trade relations with Ceylon recently. A number of trade missions have arrived and gone back with satisfactory agreements, while others have announced their intention of coming to conclude pacts. Among these countries are Japan, Russia, China, Czechoslovakia, Germany, Egypt, Australia and Rumania.

One of the countries that persistently seeks trade connections with Ceylon is Japan. A floating trade fair aboard a converted freighter, which recently arrived in Colombo in the course of a tour of South-East Asian countries, attracted great attention. Not only were businessmen taken up with the wonderful display of Japanese products, ranging from a pin to a factory, but the general public also flocked in such large numbers that the fair could not cope with the attendance.

During the two days the Floating Fair was in Colombo inquiries about Japanese goods filled eight large boxes that were placed to receive inquiries from businessmen. The Fair, no doubt, added to the increasing popularity of Japanese goods which are now flooding the Ceylon market as in the pre-war years.

Meanwhile, the six-member Nagoya Industrial Mission, which spent three days in Ceylon in the course of a goodwill and trade tour, established contacts with the Ceylon Merchants' Chamber, the Ceylon National Chamber of Commerce and the Ceylon Chamber of Commerce. Ceylonese trade representatives told the mission about the present difficulties pertaining to trade with Japan. The most significant of these was the insistence by Japan on letters of credit while most other countries allowed deferred credit.

The mission explained that this matter was determined by Government policy over which the trade had no direct voice. They promised, however, to take the matter up in the appropriate quarters on their return to Japan. The team sought to foster closer trade relations between Japan and Ceylon. They represented the Nagoya area which is one of the biggest industrial regions in Japan.

The Japanese Government has agreed to provide technical assistance for the development of small-scale

industries in Ceylon, with a view to fostering better relations with Ceylon. This assistance will be in the form of Japanese technicians along with the necessary machinery and equipment. When Japanese technicians arrive in Ceylon they will train Ceylonese hands in the use of Japanese machinery given to Ceylon under the technical aid scheme, for the manufacture of industrial products.

Czechoslovakian Exhibition

Following Japanese enterprise, Czechoslovakia opened a trade and industrial exhibition in Colombo from March 9 to March 31. Even the large structure which housed the exhibition was brought from Czechoslovakia.

The trade of Czechoslovakia was on display in a nutshell at the exhibition. Czechoslovakian goods from hydro-electric plants and sugar factories to glassware, toys and jewellery made a name with the Ceylon public and Ceylon businessmen for the first time. It was not so much the heavy machinery and industrial plants that Czechoslovakia was keen on introducing to Ceylon. Rather it was the smaller goods of day to day use in every home.

Trade Team from Egypt

Egypt is also anxious to strengthen her trade relations with Ceylon. With this end in view an Egyptian trade delegation, sponsored by the Egyptian Government, is due to visit Ceylon shortly. The Egyptian Government has written to Ceylon's Ministry of Trade and Commerce inquiring when Ceylon would be prepared to receive the delegation, and the Ministry has replied that it would be welcomed in Ceylon at any time.

Trade talks between Egypt and Ceylon are likely to centre round increasing exports of Ceylon tea to Egypt. Egypt is anxious to obtain tea from Ceylon in exchange for Egyptian cotton. The Egyptian delegation was expected to arrive in Ceylon earlier but its arrival was delayed owing to the Suez Canal crisis.

Australian Delegation

An Australian trade delegation sponsored by the Aus-

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tralian Government arrived in Ceylon at the end of April. The delegation comprised delegates from about 300 Australian firms. The leader was Mr. J. G. Hurley, a prominent Australian industrialist. It represented Australian refrigeration and air-conditioning companies, manufacturers of plastic goods, automotive spare parts manufacturers, telecommunication engineers and wool suppliers. The mission did not concentrate on selling Australian products only.

Mr. Hurley said that a non-British shipping line was likely to make a number of vessels available to the trade on the Australia-Ceylon route in about twelve months. Tea comprised 87 percent of Ceylon's total exports to Australia during 1955-56, representing £7,500,000 in Australian currency.

Visitors from West Germany

A seven-member trade delegation from West Germany, led by Dr. Werner von Bergen, arrived in Ceylon to have further discussions on matters arising from the recently concluded trade pact between Ceylon and West Germany. The delegation mainly concerned itself with the revision of import quotas under the existing trade agreement. The team also discussed the extension of German technical aid to Ceylon and the promotion of trade between the two countries.

The lists of commodities exportable from Ceylon to West Germany were revised on the basis of the trade agreement of April 1, 1955. The revision has been mainly due to the

extension of German import liberalisation.

Trade with China

Ceylon has a five-year rubber-rice pact with China, which terminates at the end of this year. Ceylonese businessmen, however, are anxious to trade in other commodities as well and a Ceylonese mission is now in China to find out what commodities other than rice can be obtained from China, and what commodities other than rubber can be exported from Ceylon to China. Certain Ceylon importers and exporters are, however, suspected of side-tracking the provisions of the rubber-rice agreement with China on their own through Hong Kong intermediaries.

If these Ceylonese businessmen chose to go through the Rubber Commissioner, who handles trade with China, for their transactions, there would not be such a gap in the trade balance, a Government spokesman said. China now owes Ceylon over Rs.80 million and this is expected to be a much higher figure by the end of the year.

Soviet Union

A trade pact with Russia and Ceylon is expected to be signed after the establishment of diplomatic relations between Ceylon and Russia this month (May). Ceylon's Ambassador-elect to the Soviet Union, Dr. G. P. Malalawekera, is expected to be in Moscow in May, and the Russian Ambassador to Ceylon is expected at about the same time.



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Shipbuilding Boom in Japan

By Our Special Correspondent Recently in Kure

NIPPON Kokan, The Japan Steel and Tube Corporation, have just announced the completion of blueprints for dock facilities capable to accommodate vessels up to 130,000 tons. The estimated cost of this dock is two million Pounds Sterling. A few weeks ago, the Universe Commander, a super-tanker of 84,730 tons was launched by the Kure Shipbuilding and Engineering Company.

These announcements indicate the importance of shipbuilding for Japan in 1957. The country, in an unprecedented boom, has risen to the first place in the world in the gross tonnage of vessels constructed. Lloyd's statistics showed ships launched in Japan between January and September 1956 totalling 1,180,000 tons gross representing 26 percent of the world's total of 4,480,000 tons during the same period. Japan by far superseded Great Britain and West Germany which launched 880,000 and 750,000 tons respectively during the period mentioned. Moreover, Japan's shipyards are booked for four years ahead. Following are the figures, according to Lloyd's Statistics, of gross tonnage launched between 1954 and 1956, given in thousands of gross tons:—

		Japan	U.K.	West Germany	Total other countries
1954	July — Sep.	87	395	187	1,132
	Oct. — Dec.	43	350	395	1,349
1955	Jan. — Dec.	765	1,465	924	5,327
1956	Jan. — Sep.	1,176	885	753	4,480

This is a far cry from 1600 AD when a Dutch vessel foundered in a typhoon on the coast of Japan. Then, the vessel's British pilot, William Adams, one of the crew rescued, was appointed master shipbuilder to the Bukafu, the government of the Tokugawa Shogun. He built the first western-style boats in Japan:— two wooden vessels of 80 and 100 tons respectively. They were the first Japanese ships to cross the Pacific. In 1610, they reached Acapulco and opened the trade between Japan and Mexico. To this day, every year, on April 14, the Governor of Kanagawa Prefecture, the Mayor of Yokusuka, Japan's famous naval base, members of the British Embassy and many others gather at Tsukuyama Park near Yokusuka on Miura Peninsula where William Adams and his Japanese wife are buried, to celebrate his memory.

Soon after Adam's death the self-imposed isolation of Japan came into effect. In 1636, a decree by the Shogun prohibited the construction of ocean-going boats. However, Commodore Perry's "Black Ships" which arrived in Tokyo Bay in 1853 convinced the Japanese of the necessity to open her gates again to the world. In 1854, the Tokugawa Shogun re-opened the first shipyard for ocean-going vessels at Uraga, near the site of the present Uraga Dock Company.

In the years between the wars nothing much was heard of Japanese exports of vessels, though Japanese Shipping Lines, operating their own boats, played an increasing part on international shipping routes. During World War II, Japan's merchant marine, totalling some six and a half million tons in 1941, was reduced to a million and a half.

A report on Japan's ability to pay reparations, drawn up in 1947, estimated Japan's shipbuilding capacity — based

on pre-war figures — at 800,000 tons. Today, as indicated in the beginning, Japan ranks first in the world in shipbuilding. Two million tons is her estimated annual capacity. Great Britain with 1,600,000 tons comes second. There are at present 21 shipbuilding corporations active in Japan with a total of 25 yards where vessels over 5,000 tons can be constructed. Building slips total 97.

Within the steadily rising exports of Japan vessels are taking a significant place thus bearing out international appreciation of Japanese production.

Year	Ships exported	Percentage of Total Exports
1952	\$ 10,900,000	0.86%
1953	96,000,000	7.50
1954	56,000,000	3.30
1955	78,000,000	3.90
1956	260,000,000	10.40
1957 (Estimate)	280,000,000	10.00

In 1955, ships were the fourth item on the Japanese export list. In 1955, they advanced to the second place accounting for 10.4 percent, after cotton textiles. In 1957, Japanese ships might well become her foremost export item. Tankers form the bulk of export. The brisk demand for oil tankers is likely to continue for some years to come.

Both internal and external factors have contributed to the impressive rise of the industry. World gross tonnage is at present estimated at 100 million tons. That is roughly one third above pre-war capacity. Ocean transportation of oil has quadrupled since 1939. There is a world wide shortage of shipping space for, with expanding world trade, both cargoes carried and distances covered, have increased substantially. However, even a sharply rising demand for bottoms would not have been sufficient for Japan's shipyards to climb to the fore, had Japan's shipbuilders not kept pace — with an outlay of almost \$100 million for modernising equipment and improving techniques during the last five years — with international requirements. The industry has been completely overhauled. As a result, Japanese vessels today show first class performance; Japanese shipyards quote shorter construction periods than European yards; mainly because the Japanese companies in due time increased the number of large slips to keep abreast the growing trend towards large-sized vessels. This technical overhaul has led to a complete re-appraisal of the Japanese industry by international shipping circles and, as a consequence, to the three or four years' advanced booking already mentioned.

Despite the widespread reluctance in Japan against any experimenting with nuclear developments, a special research council to investigate the problems of atom-powered vessels was established in December 1955. Its sponsors are a number of shipbuilding companies, led by the Ishikawajima Heavy Industries Corporation, the Ministry of Transportation and the Japan Shipbuilding Research Association. The declared target of the Council is to build and to launch two atomic-powered vessels of the 20-30,000 HP class by the end of 1966. Shipbuilding developments in Japan will warrant close attention.

American Loans for Burma

IN March the United States concluded two loan agreements with the Union of Burma totalling \$42.3 million to be used for the economic development of Burma. One loan, of \$25 million, was made from dollar funds of the International Cooperation Administration. The other loan, of Burmese currency equivalent to \$17.3 million, will be funded from kyats paid by Burma to the US for surplus agricultural commodities sold under terms of Public Law 480.

The two loan agreements were signed on 21st March at the Export-Import Bank, Washington. The same day, in Rangoon, representatives of the Governments of the Union of Burma and the United States signed a new Economic Cooperation Agreement providing for loan assistance for economic development, to replace the old 1950 agreement which provided for assistance on a grant basis.

The loan agreements provide for the funds to be repaid over a 40-year period, beginning four years after the first disbursements are made, with interest at the rate of three percent if repaid in dollars and four percent if repaid in Burmese kyats. The loan proceeds will be used to finance economic development projects aimed at increasing Burma's national production and improving the standards of living of her people. No ICA Mission is planned in Burma, but the American Embassy staff in Rangoon will be augmented by up to six persons paid by ICA who will assist in administration of the loan programme.

In the past Burma received technical assistance, on a grant basis, from the US during the period between 1950

and 1953. The final cost of the US share of that programme was about \$19.2 million. In accordance with the policy of the Government of Burma no further grants were accepted. However, the work on some projects originally assisted by the US during the 1950-53 period continued long after formal termination of the joint programme. The Burmese Government has hired and continued to employ the services of several groups of US technicians originally contracted for under this early programme.

Under a 1956 agreement, Burma received \$1.1 million from ICA, in payment for 10,000 tons of rice which ICA obtained from Burma for delivery to Pakistan. The arrangement provided that Burma would use the \$1.1 million to pay the salaries of American technicians and to send Burmese to America for study or training. Nine of these American technicians—economic and engineering personnel—are already in Burma. They are directly employed by the Government of the Union of Burma.

The new Burmese-American cooperation followed an exchange of letters last summer between Burma's Prime Minister, U Nu and President Eisenhower. Discussions which have gone on steadily since then, leading up to the three agreements signed in Rangoon and Washington, have considered only the possibility of loan assistance in consonance with Burmese policy. ICA is under Congressional mandate to make loans instead of grants wherever possible, and for some categories of ICA funds Congress has specified amounts which must be extended as loans.



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ITALIAN TRADE MISSION TO CHINA

By *Alvise Scarfoglio*

(EASTERN WORLD Correspondent in Rome)

A recent press debate informed the Italian public that the first semi-official commercial mission to the Chinese People's Republic was for all practical purposes postponed to a later, unspecified, date. Senator Guglielmone, distinguished right-wing Christian Democrat parliamentarian, businessman and head of a press concern, has been scheduled to leave for Peking for longer than a year now, at the head of a large party of representatives from practically all of Italy's leading industrial firms. His departure was put off several times, chiefly owing to his many engagements in home politics.

The last postponement was due to new developments in Italy's commercial relations with the Far East. On February 2 an agreement was reached between Italy and the Formosa Government, under the form of an exchange of letters. The arrangements were broad and general in their outward form, but comparatively extensive in substance. Payment in dollars was agreed for purchase in Italy by Formosa, the ceiling sum being fixed at \$15 million, to be met out of the \$100 million US aid. The principal goods Formosa intends to buy are chemicals, pharmaceuticals, motor cars and agricultural, and general instrumental machinery. This exchange of letters had been preceded by a parliamentary friendship mission consisting of demochristian and right-wing members, and headed by Signor Bettiol, demochristian deputy; but the main work towards its conclusion, however, had been done by the Formosa Legation in Rome.

Immediately afterwards it was rumoured in press circles that the Guglielmone mission had been refused entrance by the Chinese People's Republic, as a direct consequence of the Italo-Formosan exchange of letters. The Nenni Socialist newspaper *Avanti!* attacked the Foreign Ministry on the grounds of the incompatibility between the continuance of diplomatic relations with Formosa and opening of commerce with Peking. Successively, an officially inspired note in the *Giornale d'Italia* denied the issue and pointed to the precedent of France, who has not, as yet, recognised the Peking Government, but despite this had concluded a very broad agreement with it through the Rochereau mission a few months after another had been concluded between France and Formosa in the April of 1955. Italian diplomatic circles, however, have confirmed their wish to see commercial relations with People's China opened soon. They have partially denied the rumour that visas had been refused by Peking to the Guglielmone mission. According to their version, the Peking authorities merely declared the departure of the mission to be inopportune until the second half of this year.

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GOTHENBURG'S TRADE WITH THE FAR EAST

THE Swedish East Asiatic Company, Gothenburg, in co-operation with Wilh. Wilhelmsen, Oslo and the East Asiatic Company, Copenhagen, are operating regular shipping lines between Gothenburg and main ports in the Far East by four or five sailings monthly.

The imports and exports between Gothenburg and the Far East can be seen from the following table:

1956	Imports to Gothenburg	Exports from Gothenburg
Pakistan	3,300 tons	7,500 tons
India	8,300	106,900
Ceylon	1,800	7,700
Burma	1,700	2,800
Thailand	3,000	6,900
Malaya	6,400	13,100
Brit. Borneo	500	100
Indonesia	7,800	15,500
Philippines	2,400	4,200
Indo-China	—	4,200
China	1,700	10,200
Formosa	100	—
Hong Kong	600	10,600
Japan	12,900	14,800
South Korea	200	3,200
	58,700 tons	208,700 tons

Jute and hemp are mainly imported from Pakistan, India, Ceylon, Indonesia and the Philippines. Cotton comes from Pakistan and India. From Indonesia, Burma, British Malaya, China, British Borneo, Ceylon and the Philippines ground nuts, oil cakes and copra are imported. From British Malaya especially and also from Indonesia there is an import of rubber.

Gothenburg gets teak and other hardwood from Burma. Mangan and chrome ore comes from India. Tea is imported from Ceylon, India and China. Japan is deliverer of iron products, china wares, textiles and binoculars. From China there is a considerable import of fats and varnishes.

The exports from Gothenburg to the Far East contain especially the typical Swedish articles, paper, cardboard and wooden products, iron and steel manufactures and matches.

SWEDISH VISIT TO INDIA

Recently a ten-member Swedish trade and goodwill delegation visited India. The delegation was received by Mr. Nehru as well as by the Finance Minister. Mr. Krishnamachari, and discussed with officials of various Ministries possibilities of Sweden's participation in India's development during the country's second five-year plan. The question of Indo-Swedish trade was also discussed. The following table shows that India has a high trade deficit with Sweden:

	(financial year — first 7 months)		
	1954-5	1955-6	1956-7
India's imports from Sweden	60	78	71
India's exports to Sweden	16	15	8

(All figures in Rs. million)

It was desirable, therefore, that Sweden should import more goods from India.

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A specimen copy of the "Review" and a catalogue of International Labour Office publications will be forwarded on application to the International Labour Office, Geneva, or to the London Branch Office of the I.L.O., 38-39 Parliament Street, London, S.W.1.

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RAILWAYS IN INDIA

By a Special Correspondent in Calcutta

MR. NEHRU, the Indian Prime Minister, speaking recently at the meeting of the Railway General Managers and the Railway Board in New Delhi, stressed that Indian Railways would be called upon to play an increasingly important role in national development in the coming years. He added, that this would place a very great responsibility on those in charge of the railways. The Prime Minister declared that the growth of the railways necessitated the raising of present standards of technical training and personnel, and the building up of a strong industrial background "so that we can ourselves manufacture the things we require, gradually build up our technical know-how and steadily advance in technical knowledge".

While certain progress in technical training has been achieved in India and the four-man World Bank Technical Mission, which carried out an inspection tour of India in February, was impressed by the improved methods adopted for training in some railway work-shops, there is no doubt, that the Indian authorities face a gigantic task of training a steadily increasing number of technical personnel in industry and transport. The Indian Minister of Education, Maulana Azad, stated recently that it was proposed to train about 5,000 engineering graduates every year during the Second Five-Year Plan, and that during that period Rs. 500 million (£ 37.5 million) had been provided for development of technical education.

The Indian authorities have decided to launch several apprenticeship training schemes as well as schemes for increasing training facilities for craftsmen in India during the Second Five-Year Plan. Under the Colombo Plan, Point Four Technical Assistance Programme of the United States, and under agreements with various governments and some private foreign firms Indian nationals have been receiving technical training. But all this is not enough, and there is great scope for far-sighted foreign firms (with or without the support of their governments) to assist more than in the past in training Indian technicians abroad and in India.

In connection with planned increase of coal output during the Second Five-Year Plan in Central India, there will be an increase in daily loadings from about 400 wagons at present to 1,200 wagons, and an additional line of 74 miles is to be built from Bijuri, via Tagini, to Karonji, while some existing sections between Bijuri and Katni will be provided with a double track. In connection with the building of the three steel works at Rourkela, Bhilai and Durgapur, and the expansion programme of the Tata Iron and Steel Company at Jamshedpur, and of the Indian Iron and Steel Company at Burnpur, the railways will have to cope with the task of transporting first the equipment to these works, and afterwards with the transport of raw materials to the works (the three new steel plants alone will each have a capacity of one million tons per annum to start with), and the transport of steel from the plants to the consumers of steel.

It means that the South Eastern Railway will have to lay over 210 miles of new track and double nearly 700 miles of existing lines. Other important works to be carried out

by the SER include the electrification of over 70 miles (Howrah-Kharagpur section) and Dieselisation of over 250 miles.

Because of the necessity of supplying increased numbers of locomotives and wagons, the indigenous production has been steadily stepped up. In 1955-56 the Chittaranjan works turned out 129 locomotives, 37 more than the target. The Tata Locomotive and Engineering Company reached the production target of 50 engines, while the railway workshops and the Hindustan Aircraft Factory built 1,222 passenger coaches, 67 more than the target.

A new significant development is the decision by the Railway Board to place orders for 1,500 wagons with six new firms situated in different parts of India. Each of these firms will have to complete the building of 250 wagons by June 1958. At the same time the Indian Railways continue to place large orders abroad. An order for 100 Diesel electric locomotives has been placed with the American Locomotive Company, other recent orders include a contract with an Italian firm for the supply of 19 broad-gauge caustic soda tank wagons, and with a German firm for 17 broad-gauge special-type wagons. The requirements of the Indian railways are manifold and orders for machine-tools alone placed in Britain, Germany, Switzerland, Italy and Poland amounted to over £150,000.

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INDUSTRIAL AND COMMERCIAL NOTES

INDIA BUYS ITALIAN CEMENT PLANT

A contract was recently signed between the Ansaldo Company of Genoa (included within the complex of Finmeccanica, one of the four subholdings of IRI, the great Italian State industrial holding), and Saurashtra Cement and Chemical Industries Ltd., of Purbandar, India, concerning the supply of a large cement plant. The latter will have a capacity of 660 tons of cement a day. Italian industrial circles point to the importance of this success which Italy has scored in competition with foreign firms having larger experience both in production and in dealings with the Indian Market.

BURMA'S RICE FOR INDIA

India has entered into an agreement with Burma for purchase of 500,000 tons of Burmese rice valued at Rs 16 million. The agreement was signed in April by the Indian Ambassador and the Chairman of the Burmese State Agricultural Marketing Board.

BURMA—INDIA COOPERATION

The Indian Minister for Heavy Industries, Mr. Manubhai Shah, arrived in Calcutta on April 8 from Rangoon after his six-day visit to Burma. He went there at the invitation of the Burmese Government to study Burma's industrial development plans. The Deputy Prime Minister of Burma described Mr. Shah's visit as the beginning of long-term Indo-Burmese co-operation in the industrial field.

WORLD BANK DEPARTMENT OF OPERATIONS

Eugene R. Black, President of the World Bank, recently announced that the heavy and growing responsibilities connected with the Bank's operations in Asia and the Middle East had led to the formation of a new Far East Department of Operations in the Bank. Martin Rosen will be Director of the new Department and Ian

P. Cargill Assistant Director. The new Department will take over operational responsibility for the following member countries: Burma, Korea, Ceylon, Philippines, China, Thailand, Indonesia, Viet-Nam, and Japan.

Joseph Rucinski will continue to act as Director of Operations for South-Asia and the Middle East with Neil Perry as Assistant Director.

SCINDIA SHIP LAUNCHED IN GERMANY

9,500-ton motorship, "Jalabharati," cargo-cum-passenger vessel built by the German firm, Luebecker Frenderwerke, for Scindia Steamship Co., was launched at Hamburg on April 12. Another ship is to be launched in May.

SINO-POLISH TRADE AGREEMENTS SIGNED

A Sino-Polish trade and payments agreement for 1957 has been signed in Warsaw. The agreement provides that 1957 trade between the two countries is to be greater than last year's. China will supply Poland with ores, non-ferrous metals, oil, textiles, chemical raw materials, silks, tea, tobacco, foodstuff and daily necessities. Poland will in return supply China with steel materials, complete sets of industrial equipment, vessels, machine tools, excavators, tractors and chemicals.

Poland is also helping to build China's biggest sugar refinery on which full scale construction has just started in Kongmoon, about 125 miles south of Canton. When completed by the end of next year, the refinery will produce 70,000 tons of sugar a year. It will be equipped with Polish-made up-to-date equipment. Part of the machinery has already arrived in China. This is the third sugar refinery Poland has helped China to build. The two others went into production in north-east China in 1955.

HOLLAND'S TRADE WITH INDIA

Exports from Holland to India represent about 1 percent of the total of Dutch exports. Taken over the period of the last five years, India's imports from Holland have increased, from 1.1 percent, to 2.1 percent of the country's total imports, and attention is called to the fact that among these imports iron and metal products, machinery, electric equipment, transport material and scientific instruments have increased "considerably," whereas "traditional" Dutch export articles have decreased.

India's second five-year plan embraces projects for the construction of dykes, for land reclamation work, for the expansion of harbours, bridge-building and a number of related development schemes, so that it is in this direction that future Dutch exports to India are most likely to tend. Holland's imports from India remain steady, with hardly any fluctuation. They consist mainly of yarns, raw cotton, fodder and groundnut oil.

CHINA STEEL MILL

China's second largest steel centre at Wuhan, the middle Yangtze port city, will be able to produce 1½ million tons of steel a year when the first phase of construction is completed in 1961. Its capacity will later be enlarged. This was announced to the press by the authorities of the Wuhan Iron and Steel Company, when the project was officially declared started.

Designed by the Soviet Union, the steel centre will be equipped with the most up-to-date blast and open-hearth furnaces. Fifteen major departments, from ore mining to steel rolling, will combine to form an integrated iron and steel works. The work's first blast furnace, which is scheduled to go into production before the end of next year, forms the major project for this year. Other projects to

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be undertaken this year include a fire-brick plant, a chemical by-products plant, an ore-dressing plant and an ore-sintering plant.

INDIA'S WOOL INDUSTRY

During the first 9 months of 1956 India's exports of raw wool reached 26.5 million lb. as against 18.9 million lb. during the corresponding period of 1955. The 1956 exports included 11.3 million lb. to UK and 9.9 million lb. to the US. India's re-exports of raw wool dropped, however, from 3.8 million lb. to 2.6 million lb. during the same periods. This drop of re-exports was due to a decline of UK purchases from 2.3 to 0.1 million lb. Belgian purchases declined from 1.0 million to 0.5 million lb. This drop was partly offset by purchases of East European countries including Hungary (1 million lb.), Czechoslovakia (0.6 million lb.), and the Soviet Union (0.1 million lb.).

Indian authorities fully realise that in order to compete successfully in the export markets it is necessary to improve the quality of Indian raw wool and also to be able to specify definite grades of the wool. The Indian Council of Agricultural Research has decided to establish a wool pilot project in the Magra wool area (Rajasthan). This area which comprises Bikaner, Nagaur, and Jaisalmer produces about 15 million lb. of quality wool per annum. The Research Council has also embarked on a programme of establishing 450 community shearing

centres during the Second Five-Year Plan, whereby these centres would benefit from the Magra pilot project as the shearing process greatly influences the quality of the wool.

India's imports of raw wool during the first 9 months of 1956 amounted to 3.3 million lb., a decline of 0.2 million lb. compared with the corresponding period of the previous year. India's imports of wool tops, on the other hand, increased from 9.6 million to 12.4 million lb. during the same periods. About 75 percent of the imports originated from the UK and the remainder chiefly from Australia.

ARGENTINE'S WOOL FOR JAPAN

During the last quarter of 1956 Argentine's exports of raw wool to Japan amounted to 5.5 million lb. (actual weight) as against 8.4 million lb. during the corresponding period of 1955.

AUSTRALIA'S WOOL TEXTILE INDUSTRY

Australia's textile industry used 18 percent more wool in 1956. It was a record year for Australian wool manufacture, consumption reaching a figure of 66 million lb. (clean). The 151 wool textile mills in the country became the fourth biggest customer for the home clip. Only the United Kingdom, France and Japan bought more of the clip, and taking the world industry as a whole, Australia was the eighth largest user of wool in 1956. This record mill activity is part of a

world swing to wool. World wool consumption in 1956 was the highest of any year since the war.

UK IMPORTS FROM JAPAN

Following the recent conclusion of the Anglo-Japanese trade and payments arrangements twelve new quotas have been established for the import from Japan of: Canned tuna (£500,000); canned pilchards (£30,000); plastic materials (subject to type) (£50,000); knitting, hand-sewing, darning and rug needles (£5,000); tiles (£20,000); surgical and medical dressings (£20,000); keys, latches, locks, hinges, metal door and window fittings (£5,000); artificial flowers (£10,000); cotton wiping rags (£20,000); oleyl cetyl alcohol (£25,000); cash registers (£50,000); cotton tablecloths, cotton curtains, cotton sheets (£20,000).

The agreement also renews sixteen quotas for the import from Japan of goods under the following broad headings: Clothing (£300,000); silk piece goods (£35,000); tissues (£300,000); sports goods, toys, and games (£150,000); pottery (£50,000); buttons (£80,000); paper manufactures (£50,000); fancy goods of lacquerware (£30,000); brooms, mops and brushes (£55,000); electric lamps, electric lighting appliances (£25,000); electric lamp bulbs filament of a voltage of 12 or less (£15,000); electric lamp bulbs, filament or discharge including fluorescent, of a voltage greater than 12 (£10,000);

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canned peaches (£85,000); artificial pearls (£60,000); plastic tableware and plastic hollow-ware (£30,000); cotton and rayon grey cloth for re-export (£3,000,000).

Licences to import the balance of the canned salmon quota have already been issued in accordance with the arrangements previously announced by the Board of Trade. These quotas are all c.i.f. and are for imports during the period ending September 30, 1957.

In addition, certain goods from Japan are placed on the Open General Licence. These include frozen salmon, vitamin oils and ivory fancy goods, which were formerly the subject of quotas. Imports of canned crab, canned mandarin oranges and whale oil will also be admissible without quantitative restriction but under open individual licences.

UK HELPS TECHNICAL TRAINING IN S.E. ASIA

Equipment totalling £55,000 has been ordered recently by the United Kingdom Government to assist training projects in Pakistan and Ceylon under the Colombo Plan Technical Cooperation Scheme. The Pakistan Government's telecommunications services have received considerable assistance from the United Kingdom during the past few years by the provision of expert advice, training facilities and equipment provided under the Colombo Plan. The United Kingdom Government have now agreed to help with the expansion of facilities for telecom-

munications training in Pakistan with the gift of £38,000 worth of radio, telephone and drawing office equipment for a new testing and research department at the Government Telecommunications Centre at Haripur. This Centre provides training for higher-grade technical staff including engineer graduates of the Pakistan Post and Telegraphs Services.

To assist the Government of Ceylon in the extension of facilities for the training of technicians who will be employed on the Gal-Oya Development Project the United Kingdom Government are to provide apparatus for the Technical Training Institute at Amparai.

The United Kingdom Government have already provided equipment worth between £4,000 and £5,000 for this Institute. Orders now placed are of total value of £17,000 and are for instruments and apparatus to equip general physics, hydraulics, electric engineering and mechanical engineering laboratories.

AMERICAN CAPITAL INTEREST IN INDIA

Mr. F. Preston Forbes, head of the US Trade Mission which has concluded a six-week tour of India said in New Delhi that there was no field of industry in India in which American capital would not be interested. There was also no limit to the amount of such investment and "it is our own opinion that a very substantial amount might be invested," he said, addressing a press conference. The

mission had indicated to the Indian Government that the general investment climate would induce American capital to go to India.

Mr. Forbes said the mission felt that there was "good hope" for increasing substantially in the next few years the volume of Indo-American trade and even more the prospects of joint participation in Indian economy by American business interests.

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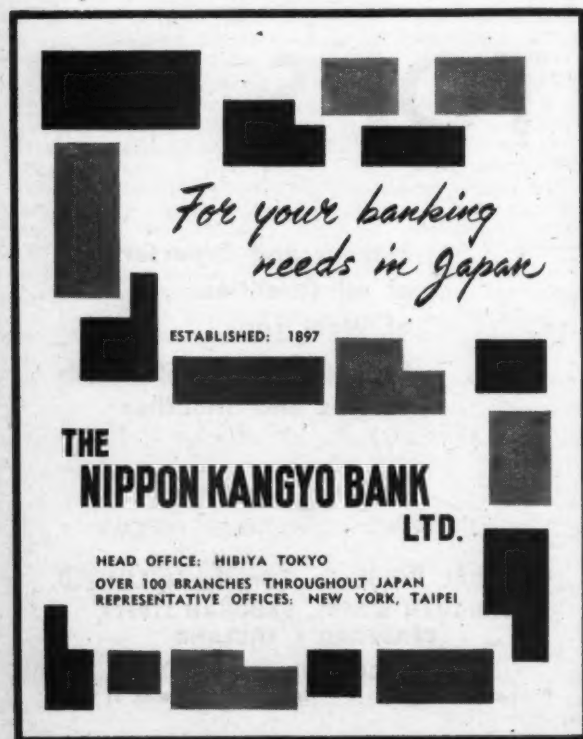
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Company Meeting

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The fifty-fourth Annual General Meeting was held on March 29 in London. Mr. D. M. Oppenheim, the Chairman, in the course of his speech said:—From the Report and Accounts you will have been glad to see once again an increase in the Holding Company's available net profit. Over a number of years (since the end of the war) most of our overseas subsidiary and associated companies have been faced both with the problems of rehabilitation and modernisation and the need for expansion under conditions in which the necessary plant, machinery and building materials have been scarce and costly. These capital projects, because of remittance, credit, and other restrictions, have had in many instances to be financed from the retained profits of the companies concerned. Moreover, the expansion of sales and, in many cases, increased tobacco taxation have required the employment of additional working capital which has been yet further increased by the large sums needed in inflationary economies to meet the replacement cost of stocks and other assets. This additional working capital has been found by the retention of profits in the companies concerned, at the expense, of course, of the sums which otherwise would have been available for dividends to the Holding Company. With, however, the completion of most of the major schemes initiated after the war the total amount of dividends received has increased as is demonstrated by the larger share of the Group Available Net Profit dealt with in the accounts of the Holding Company.

Modernisation and expansion are continuing features of the business. In modernisation I include not only the constant replacement of old machines by new and more efficient machines, but also the adoption of new processes and new techniques, with which we must keep abreast in the highly competitive conditions of today. Expansion is due not only to success against competition, but also to the steady increase in sales in some areas where there are growing populations and improving standards of living which enable people to progress from other more primitive forms of smoking to the more expensive and acceptable machine-made cigarette. It is, however, in some of these rapidly expand-

ing economies that one finds inflation, with all the restrictions and difficulties which accompany that condition, dictating the necessity for the members of the Group to maintain large reserves and an appropriate degree of liquidity. The very fact that it has been possible to carry out the post-war rehabilitation and expansion, as well as to conserve the real capital employed in the various businesses, and at the same time to provide progressive returns to the shareholders, seems to me to justify the reserve and dividend policies which have been pursued by the various subsidiary and associated companies.

The satisfactory trend of Group sales for the early part of the year to September 30, 1956, continued throughout the year and the figures available to me for the first five months of the current financial year—even excluding, as they do, those for certain parts of the Middle East area—are running above those for the same period last year. I should point out, however, that the consolidated trading profit may be affected by increasing costs and higher tobacco taxation, which in some overseas countries cannot be fully covered by adequate price adjustments. Nevertheless I should expect the share of the Group Available Net Profit at the disposition of the Holding Company to be at least maintained for the year 1956/57.

The report was adopted. At the subsequent Extraordinary General Meeting the resolutions relating to the Capitalisation issue were passed.

TENDER

The Director General, India Store Department, Government Building, Bromyard Avenue, London, W.3, invites tenders for the supply of:
2,500 TONS CREOSOTE OIL
for Railway Sleepers and Timber Treatment.

Forms of Tender, which are returnable on Thursday, the 30th May, 1957, may be obtained from this Office (CDN Branch), upon payment of a fee of 10s. which is not returnable. Reference No. 736/56/Mia.3 must be quoted in all applications.

TENDERS

The Office of "Damodar Valley Corporation," Anderson House, Alipore, Calcutta, 27, India, invites tenders for the following:—

Supply of 660V Grade P.V.C. insulated P.V.C. sheathed, served single wire armoured and served multicore control cables (various sizes, quantity 132,500 yds.) and cable jointing boxes.

Specifications, detailed plans and forms of tender can be obtained direct from India at the address below on payment of £3 15s. 0d. per set plus 15s. for air parcel charges. A specimen of specifications is on view at The India Store Department, Government Buildings, Bromyard Avenue, Acton, London, W.3 under reference S 3413/56/AVH/ENG.2.

Tenders are to be addressed to the Controller of Stores, The Damodar Valley Corporation, Anderson House, Alipore, Calcutta 27, India in time to be there before 3 p.m. on the 13th May, 1957.

The Office of Damodar Valley Corporation, Anderson House, Alipore, Calcutta, 27, India invites tenders for the following:—

Control panels for Panchet Hill Power Station and extensions to Maithon and Jamshepur Grid sub-stations as per specification PE SPEC 10.

Specifications, detailed plans and forms of tender can be obtained direct from India at the address below on payment of £3 15s. 0d. per set plus 30s. for air parcel charges. A specimen of specifications is on view at The India Store Department Government Buildings, Bromyard Avenue, Acton, London, W.3 under reference S 114/57/AVH/ENG.2.

Tenders are to be addressed to the Controller of Stores, The Damodar Valley Corporation, Anderson House, Alipore, Calcutta 27, India in time to be there before 3 p.m. on the 14th May, 1957.

The Director General, India Store Department, Government Building, Bromyard Avenue, London, W.3, invites tenders for the supply of:—

585 tons of Milk, Tinned,
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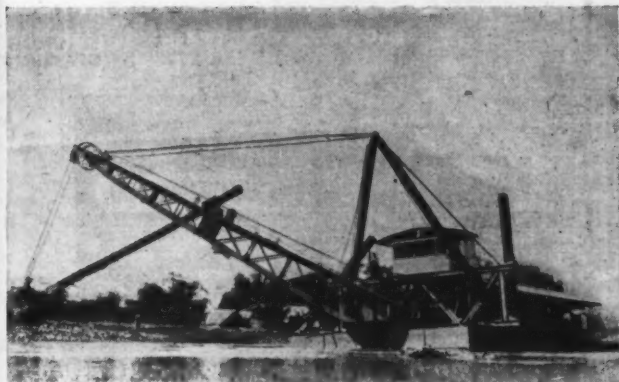
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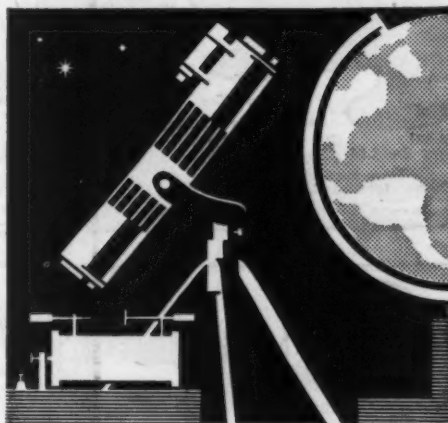
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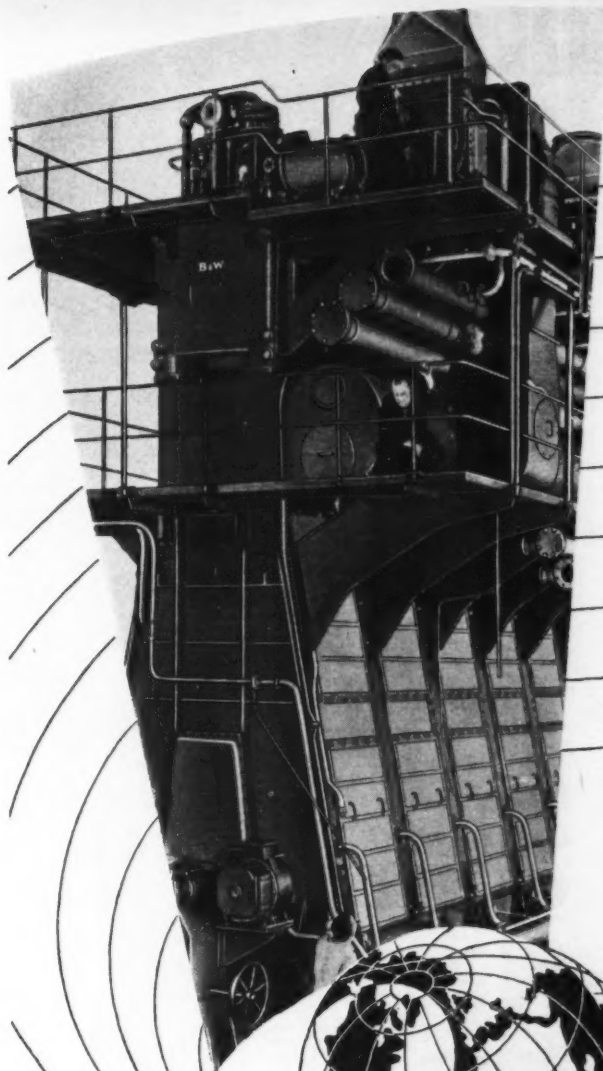
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